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THE CHALLENGES OF EMPLOYABILITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN EDUCATION – TOWARDS A HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING

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ABSTRACT

This special issue of Annales emerges from an initial, exploratory screening of the connection between employability and citizenship in the field of education. This introduction briefly sets out the main dilemmas and research questions in the field, locating them within the broader framework of current trends in citizenship education and the development of (higher) education policies. It chiefly focuses on the intersection between two seemingly conflicting concepts of employability and citizenship, which has not been, is not currently, and should not always be the case as a certain contribution to this volume indicates. This introductory part, as well as the special issue as a whole, attempts to put forward conceptual foundations to provide the grounds for the two concepts to speak to each other and signal premises that endanger either the economic, but primarily the civic function of educational institutions, primarily universities. The authors warn that reducing education systems merely to their economic utility may impair their democratic potential significantly.

Key words: citizenship, citizenship education, employability, higher education, education-job transition, academic profession, knowledge economy

LE SFIDE DELL'OCCUPABILITÀ E DELLA CITTADINANZA NEL CONTESTO DELL'ISTRUZIONE – SULLA STRADA VERSO UNA COMPRENSIONE COMPLETA

SINTESI

Questo gruppo di articoli è frutto di una comprensione esplorativa del punto d'incontro tra il concetto di occupabilità e cittadinanza nel contesto dell'istruzione. L'editoriale presenta in breve i dilemmi principali e le domande di ricerca in questo campo, ponendole in un ambito più ampio di trend attuali nel campo dell'educazione civica e dello sviluppo delle politiche d'istruzione. Il messaggio fondamentale della focalizzazione sul punto d'incontro tra occupabilità e cittadinanza è che questi due concetti sono opposti solo apparentemente, il che viene chiaramente presentato in alcuni articoli di questo gruppo. L'editoriale e tutti gli articoli presentano soprattutto le basi concettuali che permettono di comprendere in modo complementare questi due concetti e al contempo di fare in modo che si affermino. Inoltre avvertono sui pericoli, legati alla funzione economica, ma soprattutto civile, delle istituzioni del sistema d'istruzione. In questo contesto gli autori sottolineano il pericolo della sottomissione dei sistemi d'istruzione esclusivamente alla loro funzione economica, poiché con ciò è in grave pericolo il loro potenziale democratico.

Parole chiave: cittadinanza, educazione civica, occupabilità, istruzione superiore, passaggio tra l'istruzione e il mercato del lavoro, professione accademica, economia della conoscenza

INTRODUCTION: WHY STUDY CITIZENSHIP AND EMPLOYABILITY IN EDUCATION?

This volume has two ambitions: to show how important it is for citizenship studies to understand the role of education, particularly higher education, and the role it plays in the creation of a virtual citizenry and a democratic society. This is primarily the case in an era of multiple crises that have left their marks on how entire societies and their subsystems function. On the other hand, one cannot fully comprehend these processes without a deeper understanding of the changes happening in the economy and their effects on the function of education and the university in modern societies in general as well as changes in the academic profession, curriculum definition, spatial conceptualisations and, ultimately, individual lives.

In the last decade, higher education institutions across Europe have been increasingly introducing a range of new activities such as: internal and external evaluations, accreditations, outcome-based monitoring, the promotion of problem-based learning and competency-based curricula, transparency, competitiveness in research funding, and support for student practices. These processes are supposed to increase the quality and functional dimensions of higher education systems, especially in terms of supporting graduates' careers and cooperation with industry. So far, the question remains open of how aligned these processes are with some more traditional functions of higher education – teaching students to understand and master academic theories, methods and knowledge domains, strengthening students' self-reflections and critical positions on technological and social phenomena and contributing to their cultural enhancement and personality development. In that sense, the consequences of higher education reforms for the frequently disregarded perspective of citizenship also need to be addressed.

Namely, since these reforms try to (re-)orient higher education developments in line with the Napoleonic models of higher education (see Zgaga, 2009), the question regarding the extent to which current trends have hampered higher education's potential to 'produce' competent and critical citizens seems at least just as important for the functioning of democratic societies as university-industry cooperation and graduates' work placements.

EDUCATION AND ITS LINKS TO DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

Education has proven to be an instrument for nurturing social cohesion and deepening democracy ever since compulsory education was introduced (Dewey, 1916) and has been credited for significantly contributing to the development and sustainability of democracy (e.g. Lipset, 1959). Formal, non-formal and informal educational processes function to provide the tools citizens need to fully perform their roles in a democratic society. To be precise, regardless of socialisation in or an allocation outlook on citizenship education, educational attainment has been shown to have an important demographic effect on political attitudes (Ichilov, 2003), as confirmed by the positive correlation between formal education and active citizenship (see Hoskins et al., 2008). When looking at the period of early adulthood, universities play a vital role in the political socialisation and shaping of virtuous citizens. Hoskins et al. (2008) stress the importance of higher education by pointing to the increased political participation of individuals with a higher education compared to others with a lower educational attainment. The authors conclude that many benefits are associated with education. While most of the economic literature emphasises the monetary returns to education, they indicate that formal education, in particular tertiary education, promotes Active Citizenship (Hoskins et al., 2008, 19).

Building on the civic education tradition of Machiavelli and Rousseau, as well as Condorcet's (1982) deliberation on education for democracy, education has therefore become a common tool for shaping the citizenry also from the perspective of higher education. This is also one of the main justifications of the massification of higher education, which is as strong as the economic argument (Hoskins et al., 2008). When examining the effects of higher education, Hillygus (2005) established that higher education influences the political engagement of graduates in the future in line with their studied curriculum since students of the social sciences and humanities are more likely to become politically engaged than others. However, Galston (2001) argues that participation in the university community itself may socialise individuals to become politically engaged or impart some of their basic associational skills required to function in public. In effect, both participation in an educational community and specific curricular content geared towards the liberal arts provide an important link between higher education and democratic citizenship, hence showing that higher education contributes to the quality of citizenship in many direct and indirect ways. This has been consistently established by a number of authors and studies (e.g. Gardner et al., eds., 2000; Crick, 2000; Arthur and Bolin, eds., 2005; Ahier et al., 2003).

Citizenship literature across the spectrum is concerned with the creation of a virtuous citizenry as a precondition of a functioning democratic society. According to Dewey (1916, 99), a democratic society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and habits of the mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder. It is only then that society will make provision for participation in its good governance for all members and on equal terms.

An important strand in the citizenship education literature focuses on education for citizenship as a deliber-

ate learning process to attain the knowledge and skills needed to competently perform the role of a citizen. Gutmann (1987, 15) asserts that, by concentrating on practices of deliberate instruction by individuals and on the educative influences of institutions designed for educational purposes, citizens are empowered to influence the education that determines the political values and behaviour of future citizens. In effect, this has a significant impact on the knowledge of citizenship and government in democracy, on cognitive skills of citizenship in a democracy, on participatory skills of citizenship in a democracy, and on the disposition of citizenship in a democracy primarily by promoting general welfare and the public good (Patrick, 2000, 8). There is no doubt that schools represent a critical link between education and citizenship (Niemi and Junn, 1998; Birzea, 2000; Dewey, 1916), that education directly influences the individual's tendency to participate in the political realm (Hillygus, 2005; Dewey, 1916; Hoskins et al., 2008), and that education is in fact the strongest predictor of political participation even when other socioeconomic conditions are taken into account (Verba et al., 1995; Birzea, 2000).

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE 'MAKING' OF CITIZENS

As we have already established, universities play an important role in the 'making' of citizens. Higher education institutions can influence citizenship in various ways. Annette and McLaughlin (2005, 61) distinguish two general possibilities. The first is education for citizenship – the process of making citizens – which consists of a multitude of possible influences universities may exert on students, from specific study programmes to engagement in various activities of student governance, associational activity, community engagement etc. The second way describes the influence of higher education institutions in much broader terms that moves beyond the mere specific and intentional social reproduction with the aim of educating students to become virtuous and competent citizens. The tradition of public work (see Boyte and Kari, 1996) highlights the centrality of work for citizenship and thus focusses on the potential of public work in higher education, including a re-examination of traditional pedagogy, scholarship, the public traditions of disciplines and systems of reward (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 62). The tradition of linking civic engagement and higher education also has a long history. This 'pragmatic' tradition dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, chiefly the works of John Dewey, and seeks to promote the link between higher education and citizenship through experiential learning (*ibid.*, 63). The key question in this tradition concerns the construction of a curriculum that enables the civic education of students through forms of active, problem-based and service learning. Integrating classroom instruction with work within the community by sending students out into the community at large enables experience to be transposed from service to academic work (Crittenden and Levine, 2013). This tradition, which has of late most frequently been called active learning in the community, community-based learning or service learning, acquired its present relevance with the study of social capital (see Putnam, 2000) and the conviction that it may develop the capacity for active citizenship (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 65).

In terms of higher education institutions' broader impact on citizenship, moving beyond the mere 'making' of citizens, we may note several points of influence. One of them is certainly the preservation and development of critical traditions of thought that produce resources for the flourishing and re-conceptualising of the notion of citizenship in any given society (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 61). This is consistent with Hillygus' (2005) results which directly show that relevant disciplines, such as political science, political philosophy, sociology etc., are the most valuable for creating a virtuous citizenry. However, other disciplines also contribute to citizenship as long as they cultivate the tradition of critical enquiry and maintain a forum for exploring unfashionable and unpopular ideas not labelled as mainstream. Graham (2002) argues that universities also perform the role of cultural custodian by maintaining and revitalising cultural inheritances that are very significant for every citizenship regime due to their embedment in the cultural models of the political community, giving a society a cultural direction (see Delanty, 2001). In addition, the university is also frequently portrayed as a major contributor to civic virtues in terms of the diffusion of practical wisdom in society as well as an indicator of social justice, which is often related to questions of funding and its relationship with equality of opportunity (see Annette and McLauglin, 2005, 62). We should not forget the important function of universities of educating and training professionals dealing with topics relevant to citizenship. These primarily include teachers who, albeit to different degrees, play perhaps the most important role in social reproduction through various forms of citizenship curriculum. Finally, universities also have a considerable impact on local communities by introducing and nurturing higher moral and ethical values and standards, whether in terms of their internal functioning or dealing with the external environment (see Gardner et al., eds., 2000).

There is a general notion that, irrespective of any direct intervention by higher education in the process of making the citizenry, the university's influence on the general development of students as citizens is undeniable. Along these lines, Annette and McLaughlin (2005, 68) argue that, in terms of the university's formal curriculum, the study of any serious subject may lead to the development of critical understanding and sensibility because criticism will inevitably arise in the context of a

general commitment to the pursuit of truth and freedom of enquiry. The literacy of students in a broad sense and the experience of university life as a whole hold rich implications for citizenship. The question thus arises about the need for the university's direct intervention in the process of 'creating' citizens. Nevertheless, Graham (2002) believes that a concern for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake has always coexisted along with a concern for some external practical end.

However, there is also a widespread belief that the university's broad and indirect involvement in the creation of a virtuous citizenry is by itself not enough. Hence, many argue for a more comprehensive role of the university. Nussbaum (1996) stresses that universities should build on the foundations of the ideal of liberal education and modify this ideal in order for it to cope with contemporary life. She believes universities should engage in a widespread curriculum reform so as to achieve the capacity for a critical examination of oneself and one's tradition, the development of students' capacity to see themselves as cosmopolitan citizens, and the development of an ability to put oneself into the shoes of another (critical narrative imagination). Annette and McLaughlin (2005, 72) believe that the obstacle to this integrative perspective is the absence of the identification and achievement of a holistic and integrative direct role of universities in the making of citizens. As a result, there is hardly any chance to identify, specify and enact the core curricula in order to promote a liberal education to the desired extent. In addition, implementation of Nussbaum's cosmopolitan programme for civic education also demands a substantial revision of the core curricula and is thus fairly unrealisable, particularly in the context of current trends in higher education where the trends of specialisation and compartmentalisation dominate (see Teichler, 2008). These processes may well be traced to the employability framework.

EMPLOYABILITY, EDUCATION AND THE CONTEXT OF AN ECONOMIC CRISIS

One of the key European policy reactions to the current economic crisis relates to the question of how to strengthen the professional relevance of secondary and tertiary education in order to support employers' needs. This issue can be placed within the framework of mainstream research questions such as: "what are the key competencies graduates need to function well in the workplace and in society", "which actors are mainly responsible for competence development", "what are the most important teaching and training modes for the development of competencies" or "what path should education systems follow to foster the development of competencies" (HEGESCO, 2014-). Policymakers would like to know if curricular reforms, as a response to the deprofessionalisation and precarisation of work, should seek more general programmes or more specific ones: should schools produce readymade skills, or should they be oriented to preparing youth for a lifelong career.

To a large extent these questions remain empirically unanswered, even though some researchers (e.g. Allen et al., 2011) have generated some premises for how to foster the development of key competencies in education and thereby support employers' needs. Examples of these recommendations in the area of higher education based on a large-scale survey of approximately 45,000 graduates include (ibid.): fostering students' motives and talents, making higher education more demanding, alerting employers about underutilised human capital or informing them about what they can expect from graduates and encouraging relevant work experience. At the DECOWE conference, Teichler (2009) asked what do we really know about educational institutions' successful measures in terms of the role they play in graduates' employability. Some of his concerns were later elaborated in the DEHEMS project (2014-) that focused on graduates' early career success in selected professional domains, guided by the following conceptual questions:

What is the overall idea of (higher) education institutions concerning how their studies take the future professional activities of their graduates into account?

- What do (higher) education institutions do to successfully help graduates make the transition to work (short term) and their professional career (long term)?
- Where do (higher) education institutions see major developmental needs?
- What is the role of employment-related guidance services in a successful transition to the labour market?
- What are the differences and similarities among countries and professional domains?

Although these questions were chiefly placed in the higher education context, the issue could be equally (or even more) relevant to vocational education and training (Hordosy, 2014). The time is hence appropriate to reassess the main functions of education institutions in relation to the labour market – even though this has already been on the research agenda for a long time with the human capital, credentialist, signal or certificate theories approaches (e.g. Collins, 1979; Choo and Bontis, 2002). In simple words, the issues in these theories were linked to the relative effect of globalisation trends, economic cycles, education curricula, work experience and students' origins on professional or career success. At the same time, other authors (e.g. Pavlin et al., 2010) claim that education systems not only have to react to the changing formal context of work but also to changes at work itself in terms of professionalism as a personal value (Evetts, 2004).

Employability and professional success are to some extent related terms. Following Teichler (2008, 300), when looking at the outcomes of teaching and learning in higher education one does not primarily look at grad-

uates' job performance but at the overall impact of their study which can be described by: a) the smoothness of the transition from higher education to the labour market; b) income and socioeconomic status; c) a position appropriate to the level of educational attainment; d) desirable employment conditions (independent, demanding and responsible work); and e) a high degree of job satisfaction. Another model of career success components has been identified within the DEHEMS project (2014-): status, skill and qualification matching, autonomy, innovation and satisfaction. Researchers in the project (ibid.) have studied how each of the mentioned determinants is impacted by graduates' career success determinants (e.g. past education and work experience, type of HE qualification and study, educational characteristics, modes of teaching and learning, international experience, study success).

As a result, the current research and policy questions are related to paradoxes and causalities of employability as individuals' potential to find a meaningful job versus actual registered employment, employability in the context of deprivileged youth in terms of obtaining a job at all versus the further prosperity of privileged youth (Teichler, 2008, 302), employability as a skill-supply phenomenon versus a skill-demand phenomenon as measured in skill shortages versus skill surpluses (Allen and Van der Velden, 2001) or employability as individual factors (e.g. skills, qualifications, socio-biographic characteristics) versus personal circumstances (e.g. access to resources, work culture, household circumstances) (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005, 209). In general terms, the employability concept can also be related to (human resource) management concerns and changes in individual needs, motives and network organisations. As claimed by Thijssen et al. (2008, 168-169), the evolution of graduates' employability can be marked by the following milestones:

a) in the 1970s predominantly for resolving problems with school leavers and underprivileged people, with political ambitions to attain full employment and cut public losses;

b) in the 1980s for restructuring companies with corporates' ambitions to achieve efficient human resource management; and

c) in the 1990s for individuals as motives for developing successful career opportunities in segmented and ever more flexible labour markets.

The concept of employability in relation to education is always defined as being multidimensional. It explains on one side individuals' capabilities to retain a self-rewarding job but also educational legitimacy to prepare young people for their short- and long-term careers.

The described ideas lead us to the question of whether there is a trade-off in terms how education systems shape their curricula on the basis of employability or citizenship principles. With the new scenarios of the future of work such as for example 'capitalism without work', 'sustainable work' or a 'multi-activity society' (Beck, 2000) we may speculate that the need to merge both perspectives is emerging – particularly if we try to believe that individuals and employers have similar expectations of education.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

The times we are currently living in offer an opportunity to reveal which decisions, actions or patterns, if any, regarding the course of citizenship and employability in higher education may prove detrimental to both the democratic nature of society and the state of the economy.

Several contributors to this special issue discuss potentially damaging patterns that European and global (higher) education are witnessing. Nafsika Alexiadou and Sally Findlow discuss the changing frameworks for the roles of universities in Europe and England by exploring questions of citizenship and the role of universities in the context of the policy changes in the UK and in Europe over the last two decades. They perceive contemporary Europe as more united than ever before, which is creating new political, social and economic conditions and along with them new pressures and expectations for the citizens and various institutions. The authors illustrate these tensions by presenting the case of England and the struggles faced by English universities to strike a balance between traditional humanistic visions of universities and the visions universities have in the project of creating the 'knowledge economy'. Observing the same set of processes, Samo Pavlin, Tomaž Deželan and Ulrich Teichler see a redefinition of roles within higher education systems as they present relevant discourse about higher education, the labour market and graduates' 'employability'. They in particular discuss general changes in the work of academics and administrators, and problematise the characteristics and particularities of their hybridisation. Building on this, they generate a holistic conceptual and research model that questions how the external 'employability' societal and policy drivers are related to a wide range of work in academia, and explore differences and similarities among academic, administrative and hybrid jobs.

Jason Laker, Concepción Naval and Kornelija Mrnjaus round up the employability debate with a conceptual essay on youth unemployment and the traps of the employability discourse. They argue against the present approach to crafting economic, educational and employment policies and structures, and stress the need to recast the 'market' approach by placing workers at the centre in order to guarantee stronger and more sustainable economic returns whilst developing strong social capital in the process. Having these processes in mind, initially Samo Pavlin and Julian Stanley explore the learning and working activities of vocational edu-

cation and training students and observe big variations in learning patterns across Europe. Drawing on information process and social learning approaches, they make recommendations for a better understanding of vocational education and training learners' as individuals with a range of activities, interests and attachments rather than perceiving them as customers or clients, particularly in terms of curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional organisation and pathways. On the other hand, the remaining two articles look at various – albeit very different – aspects of higher education. Tomaž Deželan and Maja Sever concentrate on the higher education curriculum, particularly the formal curriculum, and by analysing 140 undergraduate programmes offered by the University of Ljubljana attempt to fill the gap in the academic literature when it comes to empirically examining the citizenship education curriculum in the higher education context. They demonstrate the strong influence of disciplinarity and the prevalence of the civic society and systems content dimension in the curricular documents. Conversely, Matjaž Uršič, Karien Dekker and Maša Filipovič Hrast cover the informal aspects of the higher education curriculum. To be precise, they focus on the influence of spatial organisation on participatory patterns of university students. Building on the notion that higher education institutions offer valuable opportunities for participation learned and fostered, they emphasise the ways spatial organisation can foster or hinder civic virtues and pay special attention to the physical organisation of universities and their social/functional organisation.

CONCLUSION

With the rise of neoliberal policies and employability in political discourse, education is strongly portrayed as an investment in future employability or an improvement in human capital (see Biesta, 2011). However, as also stressed by Teichler and Kehm (1995), engagement in education might also be a consequence of personal fulfilment and the intrinsic rather than the exchange value of a particular certificate of education. It is no secret by now that educational institutions contribute to the quality of democratic life and democratic processes. The employability hysteria thus tends to divert the focus away from the civic role of higher education and favours the economic one. Yet the university's function in terms of the maintenance and development of democratic societies dates back to Von Humboldt's idea of "enlightened citizens" who serve as the basis of the state. It is such an education system, informed by the ethos of scholarship oriented towards the pursuit of truth and grasping a reality in the totality, that would cultivate a universal rationality in academics and students alike.

In addition to what was mentioned above, employability also prevents freedom from external intervention – something Von Humboldt prioritised very highly. And, as a result, the pursuit of truth that would result in the enlightenment of the individual student, academic, society, the state and humankind as a whole may be averted (Simons, 2006). Of course, the well-being of society and humankind will not be hampered by paying more systematic care to students' successful transition to the world of work and career success; however, the recent discussions on education's contribution to democracy are also largely based on the education of enlightened, informed and critical citizens. In the circumstances of reducing the education system to its economic function, the image of educational institutions and the university in particular, as a site for public discourse, may suffer. It is therefore extremely important, particularly under an economic spell, that (higher) education's primary function is not transformed into the mere training of a highly skilled workforce. There is nothing wrong with universities serving the idea of the knowledge society; however, the production, transmission and dissemination of high quality knowledge are simply not enough for the well-being of a democratic society.

IZZIVI ZAPOSLJIVOSTI IN DRŽAVLJANSTVA V KONTEKSTU IZOBRAŽEVANJA – NA POTI K CELOSTNEM RAZUMEVANJU

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POVZETEK

Ta sklop člankov je plod eksploratornega pogleda na stičišče med konceptoma zaposljivosti in državljanstva v kontekstu področja izobraževanja. Uvodnik v ta sklop na kratko predstavi poglavitne dileme in raziskovalna vprašanja, ki se porajajo na tem področju, pri tem pa jih tudi locira v širši okvir aktualnih trendov na področju državljanske vzgoje in razvoja izobraževalnih politik. Temeljno sporočilo osredotočanja na presečišče med zaposljivostjo in državljanstvom je, da sta si ta dva koncepta nasprotujoča zgolj na prvi pogled, , kar jasno identificirajo nekateri prispevki znotraj tega sklopa. Uvodnik, kot tudi celoten nabor člankov, predvsem odstirata konceptualne temelje, ki omogočajo komplementarno razumevanje teh dveh konceptov in hkratno delovanje v smeri njunega uveljavljanja. Obenem pa tudi opozarjata na nevarnosti, povezane z ekonomosko, še posebej pa državljansko funkcijo izobraževalnih institucij. V tem kontekstu avtorja poudarjata nevarnost podreditve izobraževalnih sistemov zgolj njihovi ekonomski funkciji, saj je s tem močno ogrožen njihov demokratični potencial.

Ključne besede: državljanstvo, državljanska vzgoja, zaposljivost, visoko šolstvo, prehod med izobraževanjem in trgom dela, akademska profesija, ekonomija znanja

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DEVELOPING THE EDUCATED CITIZEN: CHANGING FRAMEWORKS FOR THE ROLES OF UNIVERSITIES IN EUROPE AND ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores questions of citizenship and the role of universities in the context of the policy changes in the UK and in Europe over the last two decades. Twenty five years after the political transitions in Eastern Europe, and 70 years since the end of the Second World War, Europe is more united than ever before. New political, social and economic configurations across the continent are bringing expectations and pressures to its citizens and institutions, with universities at the front of many economic and social projects. What do these new conditions mean for citizenship in the context of European universities, and how do member states respond to this changing context? The article will use England as a national case study within the EU to illustrate the tensions between the humanistic visions still carried out by many universities, although interpreted differently across the sector, and the pressures for the creation of the 'knowledge economy' that are shared at the national and transnational levels.

Key words: citizenship, European Union policy, English higher education, labour market and universities

FORMAZIONE DEL CITTADINO ISTRUITO: QUADRI IN CAMBIAMENTO NELL'AMBITO DELLE UNIVERSITÀ IN EUROPA E INGHILTERRA

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta le questioni, legate alla cittadinanza e al ruolo delle università nel contesto dei cambiamenti politici in Europa e nel Regno Unito negli ultimi due decenni. Venticinque anni dopo la transizione politica nell'Europa orientale e 70 anni dalla fine della II Guerra Mondiale l'Europa è più unita che mai. Le nuove condizioni politiche, sociali, economiche sull'intero continente creano nuove pressioni e attese che si trasmettono sui cittadini e sulle istituzioni, mettendo le università a capo di numerosi progetti economici o sociali. Ma che cosa rappresentano in realtà queste nuove condizioni per la cittadinanza nel contesto delle università europee e come gli Stati membri dell'Unione Europea rispondono alle condizioni che cambiano? L'articolo tratta queste tematiche sull'esempio dell'Inghilterra come sistema di istruzione devoluto del Regno Unito all'interno del territorio comunitario. L'esempio dell'Inghilterra presenta le tensioni tra le idee umanistiche all'interno di alcune università e le pressioni riguardanti la creazione dell'"economia della conoscenza", che caratterizzano il territorio nazionale e transnazionale nel campo dell'istruzione.

Parole chiave: cittadinanza, politiche europee, formazione superiore Inghilterra, mercato del lavoro, università

INTRODUCTION

The last 25 years have seen great political changes across Europe, followed by the collapse of the post-war order, the enlargement of the European Union (EU), but also the increasing deepening and widening of the EU integration project. The EU is no longer merely an economic body with tighter links over trade between independent nation states. It is a political transnational entity with a distinct set of governance instruments, its own institutions, and strong links between the EU and national institutions. By moving beyond the economic construction of the Common Market, the EU attempts to build itself as a political entity. In 1992, the Treaty of Maastricht conferred European citizenship to all citizens of EU member states. The criticisms of the early post-Maastricht period focused on the emphasis of citizenship placed on the 'market liberties of the economic citizen' (Leidfried, 2000, 45) as opposed to developing the social dimensions of the project. The prioritization of political and economic rights has taken precedence since there is no European welfare state as such. Social policy follows market integration, but there is no short or medium term view that political responsibilities for welfare reforms should pass from the national to the European level. Twenty years later, the EU initiated the 2013 European Year of Citizens, in celebration of the achievements of citizenship and to highlight the positive progress since. Constitutional reforms have reinforced citizens' political (mainly) and social (to a lesser extent) rights through Treaties but also the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and the constitutional status of citizenship has been strengthened in Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) (European Commission, 2013).

At the level of the EU, building a shared identity, and Union citizenship, has been a core project concerned with issues of the monetary union and the free movement of people, but also of political legitimacy and social cohesion (Laffan, 2004; Etzioni, 2013). But, even though the EU is keen to mobilize legitimating power and support from citizens for the integration project, it is primarily concerned with solving the more instrumental (and imminent) problems related to economic growth. Enlisting institutions that will carry the functions of promoting a particular model of economic growth (the creation of the 'knowledge economy') and citizenship is important. Education institutions are obvious candidates for dealing with both aspects of the project, and universities are seen to play a key role in bringing together the politics of identity and citizenship, and the politics of managing an increasingly volatile and fragile economic system.

These two contemporary issues, often seen to be in tension, i.e. creating a competitive economy, while promoting other forms of citizenship (legal, social, ideational and cultural) and ensuring social cohesion, are experienced by the majority of nation states within Europe. They have shaped our changing expectations from, and understanding of the roles that universities play. This article reviews some of the core issues surrounding the tensions and links between citizenship and employability discourses as part of the knowledge economy agenda. We view these as they are articulated within two policy frames: the European one, and the national – using the English higher education debates as a case study.

CONSTRUCTING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH EDUCATION: EUROPEAN DIMENSIONS

Education has always had a role in shaping people's sense of their place in the world and helped to bestow 'citizenship'. The term itself has been continuously evolving both at the level of European international institutions but also in various European countries and their 'official' education discourses. In all of its definitions, citizenship brings together social, economic and political discourses about principles and values that permeate the relations between the individual, institutions, the state, and global levels. The configurations of these discourses place emphasis on different values across time and space, with some citizenship education valorizing the creation of patriotic citizens (Deželan, 2012), while other models promote a more cosmopolitan and post-national view of citizenship that draws on national, regional, and global dimensions of 'belonging' and responsibility (Faas, 2011; Schissler and Soysal, 2005).

At the level of European institutions, such conceptualizations of citizenship have been evolving over time. Keating (2014, 171) identified three main periods during which citizenship debates have contributed to education policy at the European level: the early period 1949-1970, when the Council of Europe (CoE) was leading cooperation initiatives. In this period, CoE was producing initiatives but also teaching materials that imitated the "nation-state-building model" citizenship education, although with distinct elements of a "cosmopolitan model of citizenship" emphasizing human rights and their universality. This period was characterized by a liberal communitarian view of citizenship with a Euro-centric approach to constructing ideas about "a common cultural heritage".

The second period of citizenship policy in education (1970-1990), saw European Union institutions taking a more active and central role, although the emphasis was similar to the first period. Ideas about Europe as a community defined by common history and cultures were put forward, and citizenship education was seen as a way to cultivate a sense of European identity through 'belonging' (*ibid*.). Finally, the more contemporary view on citizenship according to Keating breaks away from the earlier periods in quite radical ways. That is, the citizenship agenda post-1990 emphasizes distinct post-national discourses where European education policies

aim at the creation of active citizens who will co-construct the European project of the future:

> *European citizens are bound by a desire to participate in social, political and economic spheres and a commitment to shared universal rights, civic values and educational skills and competences. Indeed, the EU education policies in this vein suggest that the (ideal) European Citizen is the 'Educated Citizen', one that has been schooled and skilled for participation in postmodern and globalized societies. (Keating, 2014, 173)*

This shift of emphasis coincides with the more systematic construction of the social dimension of the EU throughout the 1990s and the related education developments. But, what about the role of the EU in higher education for citizenship? While the Council of Europe on Education for Democratic Citizenship has sponsored an investigation into how universities in both America and Europe embed, apply and encourage citizenship (Bleiklie, 2000), the precise terms of this construct are relatively unexplored.What has this been, how has it impacted on the nature of the balance between educating for employment, fostering transferable skills, or emphasizing a more cosmopolitan view of citizenship in a rapidly changing job market which is defined beyond the nation-state boundaries?

Education and higher education in Europe

Up to the end of the 1990s, both the Council of Europe and the European Union were active in encouraging cooperation in education through Community Action Programs. But, it was after the Lisbon Council of 2000 that this cooperation was integrated to the 'Lisbon Agenda' which aimed to transform the European Union into 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world' (European Council, 2000), hence leading to the nascent formation of 'education policy' and the regular featuring since then of education in the yearly European Council meetings. Still governed by the principle of subsidiarity which restricts the legal competence of the EU to intervene in the content or organisation of member states' schooling systems, education policy is now based on 'soft' governance mechanisms such as the Open Method of Coordination, which rely on policy learning, benchmarking and informal normative pressures for the achievement of 'common agreed goals' (Fink-Hafner and Deželan, 2014; Lange and Alexiadou, 2007, 2010).

The 'Europe of Knowledge' agenda has also brought universities at the centre of the European Commission concerns, which has expanded its higher education activities considerably throughout the 2000s and linked HE policy developments to the Lisbon strategy and the European Research Area. In addition to the Commission activities in HE, the Bologna Process launched in 1999 as an intergovernmental process outside of the EU, provides an important framework that aims to promote collaboration, but also to transform both the product and the process of Higher Education (Corbett, 2005, 2011). The construction of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in 2010, "was meant to ensure more comparable, compatible and coherent systems of higher education in Europe" (EHEA, 2014). Even though one of the main purposes of the Bologna process has been to strengthen the competitiveness of European HE and to foster student mobility and employability, the Bologna documents emphasise also the 'public good' dimensions of European HE:

> *A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognized as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competencies to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space. (Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education, Bologna 19 June 1999)*

> *The social dimension is firmly embedded and it is this unique combination of values and principles that shape the European dimension of European higher education." (Leuven Ministerial Conference, 2009)*

Further developing the 'social dimension' is part of the current priorities of EHEA and is seen as part of the social responsibility of universities. It is concerned with widening access of under-represented groups to higher education "as a precondition for social progress and economic development", with the latest Bucharest Communiqué setting the goals of EHEA as quality higher education for all, enhanced employability, and strengthening mobility as a means for better learning. Importantly for issues of 'citizenship', the Ministerial Conference reiterated their commitment to promoting "student-centred learning" and "higher education as an open process" that encourage students to develop as:

> *... active participants in their own learning and intellectual independence and personal self-assurednes alongside disciplinary knowledge and skills. Through the pursuit of academic learning and research, students should acquire the ability to confidently assess situations and ground their actions in critical thought. (Bucharest Ministerial Conference, 2012).*

The stress on the social responsibilities of universities continues to go hand-in-hand with a strong emphasis on

employability of graduates, to be achieved through improving the connections between higher education, employers and students, but also by increasing the research links, innovation and entrepreneurial potential of courses and students (*ibid.*). But, despite the proclamations of the EHEA documents, one of the main problems with this discourse is that Higher Education policy has been assigned a central role in the improvement of European economies, with knowledge production and research activities viewed primarily (if not exclusively) as economic investment and economic assets. This is far from unique to Europe or the European Union. It reflects a globalized rhetoric that tends to reconstruct universities as entirely instrumental to economic ends. Emphasizing and foregrounding the economic functions of universities overshadows the social and cultural dimensions of their responsibilities, and in some national contexts undermine the projects of democratization where universities have played a particularly important role (Pavlin et al., 2013).

The European HE Area discourse attempts to emphasize both the contribution of universities to the creation of autonomous, democratic and critical citizens, and their contributions as institutions of the economy. It discusses however less openly the role of universities as corporate entities that operate in highly competitive higher education markets that are increasingly global in their construction. The rise of what Biesta (2011) calls the 'Global University' sees institutions that despite their diversity all compete for a position in national and international league tables, for resources usually national, but increasingly also driven by 'consumer' demand in attracting international students. One big problem with this side of institutional dynamics is that:

> *... the global university operates in an entirely self-referential manner, that is, the conception of a good university that underlies the idea of the global university is not based on a substantive set of values and principles but is articulated in terms of how one institution is positioned in relation to other institutions. (ibid., 37)*

Such critical reviews point to a wide recognition that universities in Europe are changing in character and 'mission'. In a seminal article, Zgaga (2009) presented a typology of the 'full range of purposes' of Higher Education that draws on four so-called 'archetypal models' of universities. The Napoleonic model has its main purpose defined by the instrumental needs of the state and the economy – and its modern variant has kept the emphasis on training students for their future careers, a model with high emphasis on employability; The Humboldtian model was a reaction against the strictly utilitarian approach of earlier institutions of higher learning, and emphasized the value of knowledge for the sake of further knowledge generation and learning. This model corresponds more closely to the definition of HE role in the production of research and new knowledge, both for economic but also social and political progress and innovation. The Newmanian model represents the more liberal views on education, and, in significantly contemporary tones, represents the view of higher education contributing to the development of personal development of future citizens and the formation of a more intellectual society. Finally, Zgaga identifies the Deweyan model where universities are seen as primarily serving their local communities and promoting a liberal education necessary for free societies, and fully formed critical citizens. The contemporary policy context across the EU is one where there are distinct shifts from traditional and liberal models of universities, to models prioritizing more instrumental and labour-market friendly programs and institutional aims. These often reflect explicitly governments' concerns with the contribution of higher education to economic growth. The regulation of universities 'output' and their connection to wider economic policies, and the quality of provision offered in fairly liberalised systems, become imperative.

The response to such shifts of the European Commission and of a number of Member States such as the UK where the market has been extensively used in public services, is remarkably similar: the introduction of quality control management systems. In 2013, the High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education, produced a Report commissioned by Androulla Vassiliou *(*Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism, Sport, Media and Youth*)* on *Improving the quality of teaching and learning in Europe's higher education institutions*[1]. The Report, consistent with the thrust of EHEA policies, rehearses the familiar 'quality' rhetoric that tends to construct universities as institutions in 'deficit' (in this case in relation to teaching quality), and to suggest improvement recommendations of a managerial nature. This context of Higher Education emphasizes the tensions that universities face in terms of their own role in 'performing' for the competitive market place, the continuous need to satisfy the demands of states and the changes in their funding, while at the same time produce the democratic but also 'entrepreneurial' and 'innovative' educated citizens. The strong emphasis on a consumerist student culture within this context of quality control, de-professionalisation of academic staff, and widespread marketization, puts the whole idea of universities as sites for citizenship in a defensive footing.

In the rest of the paper we shall examine how universities in England have responded to these challenges. England is a particularly interesting case study with

1 High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education (2013): Report to the European Commission on Improving the quality of teaching and learning in Europe's higher education institutions. NC-01-13-156-EN-C.

regard to these debates for a number of reasons. First, it is considered as an outlier in Europe with regard to its welfare state that combines generous overall social provisions with very strong competitiveness. In the education sector, reforms since the 1980s have combined competition with high degrees of marketization and privatization, coupled with hierarchical differentiation of education institutions (Ball, 2009). Second, in terms of its relationship to the European Union, the UK (and England in particular) have been very reluctant to engage at least explicitly, with initiatives and discourses that come from the Commission. On the contrary, the UK has been active in deflecting influences from the EU on education matters, although of course there are points of connection between the national and the transnational that are less visible and so politically acceptable (Alexiadou and Lange, 2013). Finally, England and the UK are interesting because of their own processes of devolution. Seen by some as dis-integration, manifest in the September 2014 Scottish independence referendum, devolution captures many of the tensions between the creation of a global economic and civil society and the desire for democratic accountability and preservation of local cultures that has seen a resurgence of nationalisms across Europe and beyond (Habermas, 2003; Joppke, 2007).

HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

The higher education sectors of England and Scotland have been separately governed since the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992. The Act also removed the divide between universities and polytechnics and, since then, the same preoccupations have characterized higher education policy in England, despite well-developed discourses around citizenship education per se. In the late 1990s, a linked series of agendas and schemes aimed at both increasing participation in numerical terms and improving the socio-economic mix of students were incorporated under the rhetoric of 'Widening Participation'. But the government goal of 50% of school leavers going to university has been subjected to a range of critiques, from the widely debated contention that higher education has a very limited capacity to interrupt inherited patterns of privilege and capital acquisition to what has been called the 'new stratification thesis' (Reay et al., 2005, 9; Furlong and Cartmel, 2009), which notes disproportionate numbers of so called 'non-traditional' students attending the less prestigious universities and former polytechnics.

Osler and Starkey (2006) in their review of research and practice on 'education for democratic citizenship' in England, highlight the relative insularity of the debates which do not seem to take into account activities in the field in other parts of the UK, or indeed Europe. They identify a wide interpretation of 'citizenship' as a school curriculum subject but also as skills that endow young people to be active and participative citizens. 'Skills' in the context of the well-known 'Crick Report' published in 1998, are considered in so far as they enable democratic participation. As a response to concerns about anti-social behaviour, the Crick Report advocated the 'citizenship learning outcomes' of community activity, and knowledge about political structures (political literacy), rights and responsibilities (Section 3:20). In practice, attempts to connect these ideas in core policy debates and initiatives concerned with the relationship between schooling and citizenship have foundered. The confusion over the meaning of the term 'citizenship' has remained practically unresolved, even in later initiatives, such as the 2001 Denham Report on *Public Order and Community Cohesion* that was criticized for defining cultural citizenship on the basis of 'Englishness' (Herbrechter and Higgins, 2006).

Similar confusion can be seen at the level of Higher Education – in, for instance, the rhetorical fusion of concepts as diverse as: "global citizenship and employability" (as seen in the Higher Education Academy *Strategic Priorities 2013-14*). In part, this problem is due to operational difficulties: the development of 'citizenship-oriented' higher education curriculum and training of teachers invested in 'citizenship' is even harder than in schools. But there are also more significant structural barriers to pursuing a citizenship agenda: Universities function in a climate of increased competition, and are judged by their position in the national (and for some, international) league tables. In such a climate, employability becomes an important proxy performance indicator of quality, with a seemingly neutral-utilitarian value, often promoted at the expense of 'softer' and less quantifiable purposes for higher education. Operating in intensely stratified education markets, universities are under pressure to produce entrepreneurial young people, but also 'skill matches' in the labour market and thus contribute both to individual students' career success, and to the needs of the local and national economies (Morley, 2013). For some universities in England, this emphasis has led to a more competence-based curriculum and a more distinct vocational shift to the content as well as organization of knowledge. Modularization and continuous assessment, have offered mechanisms to facilitate this switch to an entrepreneurial and highly flexible HE environment. But, this version of employability is rarely compatible with a citizenship agenda concerned with civic dimensions, or indeed with national or global inequalities and injustice. As far back as 2001, Morley (2001, 132) argued that "employability is a decontextualized signifier in so far as it overlooks how social structures such as gender, race, social class and disability interact with labour market opportunities".

Similarly to developments in most countries in Europe, HE in England has undergone reforms and changes in the post-war years that have significantly changed its shape and character. The sector is now larger than ever before: in 2014, 34,8% of 18 year olds entered higher

education (the figure rising to over 40% if we account for older and mature students); and, there is higher representation of students from less privileged background studying at universities (UCAS, 2014). This change in scale has been accompanied by a succession of policy shifts taking the public conception of university education dramatically away from either the Humboldtian or Newmanesque ideals as described by Zgaga (2009).

In 1998, The Dearing Committee of Inquiry's report, 'Higher Education in the Learning Society' established a view of higher education as a central part of both the economy and market, conceived on the state level. Consultations and recommendations flowed from the report's central premise that, "…students are motivated to enter higher education by the desire to improve their labour market prospects". This view was consolidated by the Higher Education White Paper of 2003 (*The Future of Higher Education*), which reflected early New Labour's attempts to straddle (new) economic and (old) social visions, with its awkward phrasings on "freedoms and funding" and "fair access". The policy message was clear: universities (or at least those without substantial private endowments) would henceforth have to earn their keep.

The re-naming in 2007 of the government department responsible for universities as "Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills" (from Department of Education and Skills), emphazized the shift away from humanistic notions of higher education. Henceforth, all aspects of a university's business were to be evaluated according to their usefulness to business. Strong links were forged with the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) that was keen to develop students' employability skills, which it saw as equally important to academic ones: "These skills should be developed alongside (students') academic qualifications and achievements – they are an integral part of higher education" (CBI, 2009, Recommendation 21). Although the CBI professed to be drawing on students' own views in this, it has been followed by fairly consistent reporting that students from lower socio-economic backgrounds do not translate good degrees into good jobs as well as their wealthier peers, regardless of the employability orientation of their course or university.

The current government (in place since 2010) have subsumed ministerial responsibility for university education under the "Department for Business, Innovation & Skills" (known as BIS). They are pursuing even closer links between universities and businesses for the production of graduates with employability skills to meet the demands of a flexible labour market. Against further cost reduction of university funding, the government introduced a Regulatory Partnership Group set up in 2011 that maps out the regulatory framework for HE in England. This consolidates a shift of control of universities from relative independence (relying on state funding and distant regulation) towards a strong control from the market (through student choice and cross-sector competition), and stronger than ever state-steering in terms of quality. Combined with changes in funding for Higher Education over the last few years, this has further strengthened the pre-existing diversity of institutions, and the vertical differentiation of universities in terms of status, specialisation, links to the labour market, research funding, and student intake (Findlow, 2008; Molesworth et al., 2009; Tomlinson, 2012). In 2012, the Review of University-Business Collaboration (known as 'Wilson Review') laid what can be seen as the final cornerstone to the UK government's efforts to embed knowledge exchange with business as a core mission for higher education (HE) in England.

So, social and state expectations from universities have changed, and universities themselves have responded in various ways to re-defining their sense of purpose. Most discussion about the functions of English universities, by universities themselves and independent analysts, is directly inspired by funding changes in the sector that have seen student fees rise to £9000 per annum[2]. These costs of a university education have raised the stakes for students but also for universities which have become very proactive in their recruitment campaigns and in repackaging themselves through marketing strategies. Employability has become part of such marketing packaging, and both the university self-promotion literature, and the government HE policies tend to reduce the studying experience to what has been criticised as a primarily utilitarian and instrumental pursuit: "The value of a university education is the income it enables you to earn minus the cost of acquiring that education." (Collini, 2013). The student has been re-cast as a 'customer' of a 'business' that, in the UK, the state still has a monopoly on.

So, how can we think about the changing role of universities in England and how is this linked to issues of citizenship? The wide range of universities in England do not of course fit nicely in any of the archetypes described by Zgaga – no university does. But, there are features of all 'types' found in different proportions across a sector which is highly differentiated. So, many of the prestigious Russell Group[3] universities are driven primarily by research and knowledge generation in the Humboldtian tradition, with distinct elements of democratic and

2 This is the annual fee for undergraduate studies for UK and EU students, for the academic year 2014-2015 (equivalent to about 11,325 Euro).

3 This is a "member organization" that represents 24 UK Universities (20 in England, 2 in Scotland, 1 in N. Ireland, and 1 in Wales). According to their website, Russell Group universities are "committed to the highest levels of academic excellence in both teaching and research", they "operate globally, attracting international students and academic staff from many different countries, but also have a strong role and influence within their regional and local community". The Russell Group also claim "outstanding research and teaching, unrivalled links with businesses and a commitment to civic responsibility" (http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk/).

liberal functions – although these are often 'ideals' that are beautifully packaged and sold to students, together with strong elements of 'tradition' and 'exclusivity'. Even in these institutions however, we would find strong instrumental links with the economy, which are very much present in the ways the universities are organized and funded. The less wealthy institutions on the other hand, are more influenced by local labour market frameworks, with vocationally oriented preparation of students as their dominant function. At best, these institutions retain a link to the local communities that goes beyond the economically defined, and serve different kinds of social needs.

Is the public good vision of higher education still present in England? There are important examples of university practice that may be suggestive of opening up of policy space for alternative visions of citizenship. We shall discuss some selected ones which we believe illustrate the tensions inherent in institutional practice when citizenship agendas meet the pressures of performance in the national and global market place.

ENGAGING WITH CITIZENSHIP AND THE MARKETING OF COSMOPOLITAN DEGREES AND IDENTITIES

A number of UK universities (all in England, in addition to Edinburgh) have since 2010 introduced Liberal Arts undergraduate programmes[4], and limited cross-disciplinary study in the form of degrees that allow students to take a wide range of subsidiary subjects. It is a move that may well be inspired by persuasive arguments in defense of America's liberal arts tradition, on the basis that a sluggish economy requires bright young people capable of 'thinking outside the box' (Ungar, 2010).

Even though there is a long tradition of European universities to offer such broad university education, this was a trend almost under extinction through the 1980s and 1990s, when most universities strengthened the disciplinary appeal of their education offer. Considerations of employability of graduates, but also of a research funding base, meant that broad interdisciplinary degrees where not seen as popular, and the introduction of tuition fees for students would point towards the phasing out of such degrees. All the universities currently involved in such Liberal Arts initiatives, belong to the Russell Group of universities. The rationale provided by these universities is to reintroduce degrees that include combinations of Arts and Science programmes covering social and physical sciences, arts and the humanities. Significantly, they have all constructed courses on the basis of (a) interdisciplinarity, (b) spending a year abroad where students are linked to other "top ranking", "global" universities in the world, (c) personalizing learning to suit the interests of individual students; and (d) promoting a broadly cosmopolitan outlook. In addition, they are all keen to emphasise the elite nature of their education, as well as the marketability of the skills for graduates of these programmes:

> *Arts and Sciences at UCL also provides core courses which enhance the understanding of how different branches of knowledge relate to one another and encourage interdisciplinary thinking. This distinct approach delivers both educational breadth and depth, and fosters an understanding of working across the disciplines to respond to real world issues. (University College London, Liberal Arts & Sciences, 2014)*

> *A degree in Liberal Arts and Sciences puts you among the next generation of leaders. A prestigious undergraduate degree for elite A* or A grade students, it offers you the unique opportunity to design your own programme of study to match your individual interests and strengths. (Birmingham University, Liberal Arts and Sciences programme, 2014)*

> *One of the very first degrees of its kind in the UK, the BA in Liberal Arts is a flexible, interdisciplinary and innovative course which enables students to tailor their degree from a wide range of options in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences. It combines the best features of higher education in the UK and the USA... … As part of the degree you can spend a semester abroad at one of our global partner institutions. Many of our students enjoy studying in New York City as part of an exclusive Liberal Arts exchange with the New School. (King's College Liberal Arts, 2014)*

> *The versatility of Liberal Arts graduates - a result of their interdisciplinary experience, their engagement with qualitative and quantitative data analysis, their linguistic facility, and their critical acumen - qualifies them for post-graduate study and makes them highly marketable to prospective employers. (University of Kent, BA (Hons) Liberal Arts, 2014)*

Clearly these programmes construct their appeal on the back of the elite and exclusive nature of the universities that offer them, and they emphasize a curriculum that attempts to combine the 'interesting' with the 'useful' for the future global citizen. But, at the same time, it is clear that this approach to undergraduate courses is one that only the more selective universities have the luxury to offer, targeting the (already) cosmopolitan, high achieving, ambitious and globally mobile student / future 'leader'. So the link with 'employability' as seen from

4 In: Birmingham, Cambridge, Durham, Edinburgh, Exeter, Kent, Kings College London, Oxford, and UCL.

a social cohesion perspective would seem tenuous at best. As Tomlinson (2012, 411) argues "clear differences have been reported on the class-cultural and academic profiles of graduates from different HE institutions, along with different rates of graduate return". The students that attend such Liberal Arts programmes and are willing to pay the high tuition fees for a (more risky) inter-disciplinary degree, are likely to view employability from a very different perspective to the more risk-averse students with lower socio-economic or academic capital.

CITIZENSHIP VS. SKILLS AND THE LABOUR MARKET?

The expansion of university places in the UK during the 1990-2000s period has been accompanied by a more recent attempt to control student numbers but also their destination. The current government announced an increase in HE places for 2014-15, but the intention is to regulate the market place of universities and impose number controls on student places, "if providers are expanding at the expense of the quality of provision" (HEFCE, 2014, 20); a move likely to favor the already strong institutions in the HE landscape. The current government continues to view HE as an important economic agent, with the need to further enhance the employability of graduates. This is of course not a new theme. Earlier governments committed funding for additional student places in the system, with the intention to "increase the share of workers with high level skills from 31% to 40% by 2020" (HECSU, 2008), equating 'graduates' with 'high level skills' in the market place[5]. This is a theme that has been important in policy making in the last few years. In 2008, a White Paper on the creation of the UK as an 'Innovation Nation' focused on higher education partnership with business, emphasizing their strategic usefulness, and the need for a strong 'performance' orientation and international competitiveness of universities (DIUS, 2008).

The White Paper, and the various initiatives by the Higher Education Funding Council for England that responded to the government's requests for forging closer links between HE and the economy, have prioritized a rather short term skills agenda. Government-linked think tanks and consortia such as Westminster Briefing and Government Knowledge[6] view HE studying in terms of 'improv(ing) your ability to meet employer requirements', and 'maintaining standards' in terms of 'giving students what they want', while Universities-UK (an association of 134 institutions), despite accepting the 'student as consumer' as an established feature of the higher education landscape, encompasses in its remit the possibility of universities also having broader social purposes:

> *The value of higher education is generally assessed in terms of how much money universities generate for the individual, for business and for the wider economy. Critical though these considerations are, they tend to ignore the huge public good that universities generate, both locally and nationally. UUK works to highlight the importance of universities to their local communities. (Universities-UK website, 2014).*

Problematizing issues to do with immigration, international students and the internationalization agenda, it departs from the government vision most notably for the way that it talks about 'value' in terms that are independent of money, with finance seen primarily as a constraint rather the *raison d'être* of universities. On a more cynical note of course, Russell Group universities are also part of Universities-UK, and the civic society language of the latter is very rarely seen in the discourse used by the prestigious universities either as part of their collective Russell Group identity, or in their individual university literature and marketing.

The 2000s saw some interesting initiatives across universities in England, in the form of: 3-year funding cycles of projects explicitly designed to promote citizenship teaching at university level; dedicated modules on citizenship (mainly as part of Politics courses); or, (more rarely) a whole institution approach to citizenship (see McCowan, 2014 for a review). But the sustainability of such projects is mostly short lived. They tend to get discontinued when their funding runs out, and they are easily taken over by more pressing agendas that aim at increasing concerns with employability.

The (rhetorical often) commitment to fostering 'civic values' and the importance of universities promoting 'citizenship' is certainly present at the policy level. The Higher Education Funding Council for England has clearly put this into the map in their 2006-2011 Strategic Plan:

> *Higher Education plays a key role in developing active citizens, and sustaining a civilized, more tolerant and inclusive society. (para 42)*

But, there has been little policy attention or specific initiatives trying to operationalize, fund, and evaluate this commitment. Whether a matter of changing the curriculum, or a means of increasing the active partici-

5 Equating 'education' with 'high skills' and assuming a continuing increase in the rate of return from university degrees, has been challenged: Both by research on 'overeducation' and its consequences for matching graduate skills and employers' needs, but also by evidence of falling rates of return to degrees in times of HE expansion (Chevalier and Lindley, 2009; McGuinness and Sloane, 2011).

6 These are recently established, with close links to the government, organizing policy events and conferences, with the purpose of giving advice to government. Westminster Briefing is producing events in association with The House Magazine, which is "the weekly business publication for the Houses of Parliament" (http://www.westminster-briefing.com/, http://www.govknow.com/).

pation of young people in civic matters, HEFCE policy documents tend to be fairly vague on this point. The relative openness of the New Labour governments of the 2000s on linking higher education to citizenship, appears to have reduced dramatically and quickly with the economic recession and the arrival of a new Conservative-Liberal coalition government in 2010, bent on the role of universities for income generation, and a refocusing primarily on employability of graduates.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this article was to review selected debates in the European and English education policy frameworks in order to illustrate the connections between on one hand: discourses around employability and the role of universities in economic growth, and on the other, the debates around universities and citizenship.

Universities have always acted as sites for citizenship, even if this was not an explicit or 'designed' feature of their mission. Preparing young adults for entry to the labour market, practicing political participation as part of their studies, and acquiring critical awareness of social issues, has always been an ingrained feature of studying and 'living' in HE spaces. Universities have been expected to create public value by the state (in most European contexts), and increasingly now by the market, and of course individual students. The 'public value' they offer needs to be conceptualized in relation to their purposes not merely as isolated institutions but also as part of a wider public sector that is positioned and acts within certain political and economic frameworks (Alford and O'Flynn, 2009). And, it is these frameworks that have been changing over the last 20 years, and so providing universities with new parameters within which 'citizenship' is practiced.

One such framework is provided by internationalization and Europeanisation policies and practices that have become a dominant feature of the HE landscape, whereas the second framework is the political and economic markets within which universities operate.

This twin framework places both individuals and institutions in positions whereby employability, marketability and a 'global' outlook are presented as universally 'good' and necessary properties (Altbach, 2013). In responding to this, universities in England have become very adept at adjusting to market requirements, and in many instances playing the 'global' dimension to their advantage. But, there is no doubt that universities, even within the same country, are not operating from a level playing field. The extent to which different universities engage with this dimension very much depends on their position within existing structures of power and privilege. For prestigious universities, the citizenship discourse is manifested both in their literature, but also in study programs, as well as recruitment of international, 'cosmopolitan' students. This is by no means a task that institutions endowed with less economic and cultural capital can reproduce.

This is exactly the kind of citizenship discourse that the European Higher Education Area encourages, and student exchange programmes such as Erasmus promote: The educated European citizen with strong sense of a dual national / European identity, where employability, mobility and flexibility are key. But, there is also a significant difference. The European Council and Commission (2012) have been emphasizing the need for a stronger disciplinary focus of university education. Science at university level has for the last 15 years been seen as an integral part of economic policy – and this includes inter-disciplinarity of only a limited character. The latest European Council urges the Commission and the member states to address shortages in the STEM subjects, and the industry to be more involved in forecasting future skills needs' (European Council, 2014, para.10), in an attempt to bind education and labour markets more tightly.

At the same time, both at the level of Europe, and within English HE developments, there is an ever stronger focus on students as consumers of HE for the development of their own career progression and mobility. The high levels of instrumentality of this discourse are promoted stronger than the 'public value' elements of university education. Students are very aware of the diversified and vertically structured university system when they make their choices of university and, in England, this is only pronounced further by their payment of high tuition fees. Within the universities, the quality control discourse and practice and the (relative) weakening of autonomy and control of their work, academics (even in prestigious institutions) find that they need to prioritize narrow and instrumental purposes for their own practice (Findlow, 2012; Morley, 2013).

All these undermine the inclusion of citizenship education, either as a curriculum focus or as a set of practices that draws on democratic participation of students. There are examples to the opposite, but these tend to be either a packaging of citizenship for marketing purposes (as the example of the Liberal Arts degrees would suggest) or a set of distinct but isolated practices that are not integrated organically in the life of universities.

Is there a silver lining? We believe there is still space within higher education practice to embed citizenship practices. We accept the argument that higher education is central to the task of *re-imagining* the public good (Nixon, 2011) and this gives higher education a central role in making, not only delivering on, social and economic policy. In addition to providing knowledge and skills, this role requires universities to be committed to the sort of "critical education for citizenship" that aims to promote understanding of "the politics of difference" (Rimmerman, 1998, 100) and helps students make the connection between their lives and their role as global citizens (Langran et al., 2009).

OBLIKOVANJE IZOBRAŽENEGA DRŽAVLJANA: SPREMINJAJOČI SE OKVIRI UNIVERZ V EVROPI IN ANGLIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek odpira vprašanja, povezana z državljanstvom in vlogo univerz v kontekstu javnopolitičnih sprememb v Evropi in Združenem kraljestvu v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Četrt stoletja po politični tranziciji v Vzhodni Evropi in 70 let po koncu II. svetovne vojne je Evropa bolj združena kot kadarkoli. Nove politične, družbene in gospodarske razmere na celotnem kontinentu ustvarjajo nove pritiske in pričakovanja, ki se prenašajo na državljane in institucije, pri čemer so univerze na čelu marsikaterega gospodarskega ali družbenega projekta. Kaj pravzaprav te nove razmere pomenijo za državljanstvo v kontekstu evropskih univerz in kako se države članice Evropske unije odzivajo na spreminjajoče se razmere? Ta vprašanja članek obravnava na primeru Anglije kot devoluiranega izobraževalnega sistema Združenega kraljestva znotraj prostora Evropske unije. Primer Anglije kaže na napetosti med humanističnimi predstavami, ki se ohranjajo znotraj nekaterih univerz, ter pritiski po ustvarjanju "gospodarstva znanja", ki prežemajo nacionalni in transnacionalni prostor na področju izobraževanja.

Ključne besede: državljanstvo, evropske politike, visokošolsko izobraževanje, Anglija, trg dela, univerze

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HYBRID ROLES, CONVERGING KNOWLEDGE NEEDS FOR GRADUATES' CAREERS? AN INSIGHT INTO ACADEMIC AND ADMINISTRATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

In the paper we first present relevant discourse about higher education, the labour market and graduates' 'employability'. Second, we discuss general changes in the work of academics and administrators, and problematize the characteristics and particularities of their hybridization. Building on this, we generate a holistic conceptual and research model that questions how the external 'employability' societal and policy drivers are related to a wide range of work in academia (e.g. curricular developments, management and reaccreditations, university-business cooperation, public relations, career success evidence, etc.). Finally, we map and identify these areas further and explore differences and similarities among academic, administrational and hybrid jobs. The analysis is based on mixed methods research – an open-ended survey on the profiles of 234 higher education institutions from 20, mainly European, countries, and on 37 expert interviews. The results indicate differences in the priorities of individuals playing different roles within higher education institutions. Contrary to the administrators, who favoured more practically-oriented topics related to training and career-related issues, and the persons in hybrid roles – often called higher education professionals or similarly – who favoured accreditation, quality assurance and higher education management issues, the academics appear to have the most balanced portfolio of priorities, as will be shown below. Moreover, we can identify the omnipresent urgency to be responsive to labour market needs, the increasing adjustment of academic work to bureaucratically infused assessment as well as the ostensible polarization between research and teaching.

Key words: higher education, labour market, graduates, employability, academics, administrators

RUOLI IBRIDI, OCCUPABILITÀ E CAMBIAMENTI NELL'ISTRUZIONE SUPERIORE: PUNTO DI VISTA ACCADEMICO E AMMINISTRATIVO

SINTESI

Nell'articolo presentiamo innanzitutto il discorso rilevante sull'istruzione superiore, sul mercato del lavoro e sull'occupabilità dei laureati. Continuiamo trattando i cambiamenti generali nel lavoro degli accademici e degli amministratori e problematizziamo le caratteristiche nonché le particolarità dell'ibridazione del loro lavoro. Su queste basi costruiamo l'intero modello concettuale e di ricerca che si chiede come le pressioni politiche e sociali esterne riguardanti l'occupabilità influiscono sullo spessore dei lavori all'interno della sfera accademica. Alla fine identifichiamo e ricerchiamo in modo più dettagliato le similarità e le differenze nel lavoro degli accademici, degli

amministratori e dei loro ibridi. L'analisi si basa su un approccio multimetodico – questionario aperto sui profili di 234 istituzioni d'istruzione superiore in 20 Stati europei e 37 interviste con esperti. I risultati mostrano differenze tra le priorità di diversi detentori di ruoli all'interno dell'istruzione superiore. Diversamente dagli amministratori che preferiscono tematiche orientate più verso la pratica, legate alla formazione e alle carriere dei laureati, e i ruoli ibridi che preferiscono gli accreditamenti, la garanzia della qualità e livelli nell'istruzione superiore legati al management, gli accademici mostrano i portfolio di priorità più equilibrati. E non solo. Abbiamo identificato la diffusa necessità di rispondere ai bisogni del mercato del lavoro, un adattamento sempre più intenso del lavoro accademico alle procedure burocratizzate riguardanti la valutazione e un'evidente polarizzazione tra la ricerca e l'insegnamento.

Parole chiave: istruzione superiore, mercato del lavoro, diplomanti, occupabilità , professione accademica, amministratori

INTRODUCTION

In the past few decades, higher education institutions have experienced massive growth in student enrolment, the diversification and synchronization of programmes and external calls to adopt a labour market orientation. The call for closer links between higher education and the world of work harbours ambitious expectations: students are expected to be equipped with competencies that are useful on the job and to experience a smoother transition to work, whereby employers should be provided with workers possessing the skills they need. This widespread call for 'employability' has triggered changes within higher education institutions that affect the self-understanding of academics and administrators and their interrelationships.

Strategic decisions and processes in higher education institutions are moving more and more towards a mix of collegial academic-based decisions and administrative directions, whereby the latter is often more strongly affected by external expectations. Most Western societies have experienced the process of higher education's expansion and corresponding growth in the overall number of academics along with a decrease in their social status, income and autonomy (see Altbach, 1996; Musselin, 2007; Teichler et al., 2013). This has gradually started to impose new roles with changed responsibilities, needs and power positions. We note, first, the striking growth of higher education professionals, i.e. persons neither in charge of teaching of teaching nor resembling the traditional types of administrators, but – by primarily being in charge of service and management – support bridging the traditionally separate spheres of academia and bureaucracy (see Meek et al., 2010; Schneijderberg and Merkator, 2013). Second, the roles of academics and administrators are ever more overlapping: "Administrators are increasingly entangled in academic management as well as academics into institutional management" (Musselin, 2007). As a result, "internal boundaries between different occupational groups and functions have become blurred, so that the simple distinction between academic and non-academic work has become less useful" (Henkel, 2007, 199). The stronger employment and work orientation of higher education is one of the most important drivers of these processes.

In the paper, we first set out the relevant discourse on higher education, labour market and graduates' 'employability'. Second, we discuss changes in the work of academics, administrators and the new professionals in between. We problematize the characteristics and particularities of their hybridization and, based on this, assume which implications are held by employability and work orientation for their work and professional development. In the third step, we analyze and compare particular knowledge needs and priorities concerning employability and graduates' careers as professors, administrators and managers. This analysis is based on an inquiry among 234 diverse profiles of higher education institutions from 20 mainly European countries. The analysis is complemented by a mixed methods research design – the analysis of the open-ended survey data is complemented by 37 expert interviews.

We claim that, in spite of the diversification of higher education jobs and emergence of hybrid roles, a gap persists in the priorities of academics and administrators in the field of graduate employability and career success.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN THE VIEWS OF HIGHER EDUCATION STAKEHOLDERS

Since the start of the 21st century we have encountered the surprising readiness of higher education to respond instrumentally to external calls to adopt a labour

market orientation. The discourse on 'employability' has gained momentum. There are parallel supportive and critical voices, but it is widely assumed that the actual activities of creating a close visible link between study programmes and a prospective work assignment have acquired momentum (see the overviews on the 'employability' debate in Knight and Yorke, 2003; Teichler, 2007; 2009; Vukasovic, 2007; Yorke, 2007).

As functional and utilitarian reasoning increased in higher education, the emphasis on 'employability' gained in popularity. However, the interpretation of 'employability' varied. In some instances, it was viewed as compatible with the more traditional functions of higher education – teaching students to understand and master academic theories, methods and knowledge domains, strengthening students' self-reflection and critical position on technological and social phenomena and contributing to their cultural enhancement and personality development (e.g. Teichler, 2011). In other instances, 'employability' was interpreted as training the skills viewed by employers as immediately needed on the job and as fostering personalities that seem to 'sell' well. The national and international comparative projects undertaken in recent years – e.g. CHEERS, REFLEX, HEGESCO, EMBAC and DEHEMS – provide evidence that the employment and work 'success' of graduates can by no means be attributed to any single notion regarding the desirable educational approaches.

Views vary as regards the extent to which the 'employability' discourse can be regarded as an integral element of the Bologna Process or it just has to be associated with it like almost any other educational approach popular in the first decade of the 21st century. According to the mainstream utilization of this term, 'employability' chiefly reflects the key concerns of human resources development (Thijssen et al., 2008, 168-169). These are not new, but have been associated with resolving the problems of school leavers and underprivileged people with political ambitions to attain full employment and cut public losses in the 1970s, restructuring companies with corporations' ambitions to attain efficient human resources management in the 1980s, and efforts to ensure successful career opportunities since the 1990s. Hence, the concept is usually related to the paradoxes and causalities of: individual capabilities versus actual registered employment, deprivileged youth in terms of getting a job at all versus the further prosperity of privileged youth (Teichler, 2009, 302), the skill-supply phenomenon versus the skill-demand phenomenon (Allen and Van der Velden, 2011) or individual factors versus personal circumstances (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005, 209).

However, in the last few years the concept has largely become a call for the closest possible direct link between higher education and the labour market. It has thus acquired a normative connotation which would be viewed as problematic from the traditional perspective of higher education since it calls for the following strategic actions by higher education institutions (Teichler, 2011): the enhancement of career success as a primary goal of higher education, favouring fields of studies with the greatest 'credentialist' value in the labour market, strengthening the practical aspects of learning and programme characteristics, as well as promoting profiles and competencies for which there is short-term demand in the labour market. In the light of the current economic crisis accompanied by global pressures and overall occupational deprofessionalization, higher education institutions are finding it hard to take a critical distance towards these expectations.

In contrast, there are differences in how higher education stakeholders take positions on the impetus of the labour market orientation of higher education, as clearly shown for example by the DEHEMS project (see Melink and Pavlin, 2012). Academics are aware of how much the immediate education-job match and satisfaction with work in the early years after graduating might be impressive for students and graduates and therefore, as a counterbalance, perceive their own responsibility to support their (particularly) long-term careers. Their views in relation to programmes' labour market orientation depend highly on the study domain and therefore cannot be generalized: academics in business and economics, for instance, are very open to strengthening the labour market scope of the curriculum, including the importance of practicums which is rarely the case in some areas of the natural sciences.

Obviously, many employers favour a stronger role for work experience within the study programmes provided by higher education institutions and closer collaboration between the academic sphere and industry. However, employers also want higher education to instil good generic competencies that support graduates in all career stages and contend that the strengthening of a more holistic concept of study would be preferable to the strengthening of specializations. Various other external stakeholders, e.g. trade unions, advocate more coherent collaboration between the external world and higher education institutions when it comes to creating, accrediting or reaccrediting study programmes. Many students suggest greater communication between academia and the world of work as well because concern about unemployment or inappropriate employment is widespread among students.

CHANGES IN ACADEMIC JOBS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUPPORTING GRADUATES' CAREERS

Context

The academic environment is 'managed' altogether by clearly different 'groups': the academics (professors and junior academic staff), the administrators and, finally, the managers with possibly varied backgrounds. The

work of these 'groups' is traditionally driven by three theoretically diverse principles (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001; Evetts, 2013): (i) The work of professors is characterized by an academic type of *professionalism* which is governed by disciplinary-oriented professional organizations; (ii) the work of administrators is dominated by bureaucratic principles and traditionally subordinated to the state and legislation on administration; and (iii) managerial positions have been increasingly shaped in recent years by the principles of competition, *commodification* and *managerialism*.

Since about the 1980s we have observed trends in higher education in Europe that challenge the traditional divides between an academic zone strongly determined by academics' values and an administrative zone. The growing managerial power and rising importance of various measures of evaluation, performance measurement (Vidoni and Palleta, 2012) and indicator-based steering are perceived by many academics as efforts to superimpose managerial principles onto the academic sphere (Schapper and Mayson, 2005), even though many academics believe these principles of coordination and control do not affect the heart of the academic culture (see the different views in Locke et al., 2011).

The work of academics

The term "academic" is employed in this study, like in many other studies, to describe everyone at a higher education institution who is primarily employed for the tasks of teaching and/or research. As a rule, they are subdivided according to positions on a career ladder with professor at the apex. In some instances, standalone positions are created, e.g. lecturers without research tasks and without any chance of being promoted to professorial positions. The work of academics can traditionally be described by the concept of a "community of practice" (Wenger et al., 2002) in which groups of people share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic and deepen their domain. Academics are understood to be in charge of knowledge creation, systematization and dissemination. Their tasks are often termed teaching, research and possibly a "third mssion" (Culum et al., 2013). Their daily life is shaped by activities of raising funds, networking, participating at conferences, scientific publishing and financial reporting.

The authority of academics is thus generated on the basis of professional expertise and supported by a collegial professional network that has its roots in industry, politics, public government, discipline-related international and organizations and university management. Professional expertise gives those academics who have attained the rank of (full) professor the right and power to create and implement a university curriculum which represents a systemized body of knowledge for graduates and their future professional work. Professional expertise – even though it is not usually related to management – also grants academics, depending on their position, the right to become involved in academic and institutional management as project leaders, heads of department, (vice) deans and (vice) rectors. Academics organize their work in representative collective bodies such as a senate or collegium where major decisions are typically discussed and improved.

The work of academics has been framed in the last few years by administrative and managerial principles that have led to a limitation of their traditional self-regulatory setting and is often seen as a dramatic loss of academic freedom, as deprofessionalization, 'bifurcation' and diversification between permanent and temporary staff, as well as reliance on professional rather than on academic identity frameworks (see Currie and Vidovic, 2009; Findlow, 2012). "Academics no longer have a monopoly of influence on organizational goals, strategies, structures and cultures. For some this has meant loss of control of their academic agendas, loss of disciplinary location, loss of self esteem and loss of identity. Others have succeeded in accommodating and exploiting new demands and connections without deviating from their main agenda, even if the contexts in which it is pursued have multiplied…" (Henkel, 2007, 198-199). With this loss of traditional academic freedom, the "academic profession has come under enormous pressures potentially endangering the survival of the core identity of academics and universities" (Kogan and Teichler, 2007, 9).

Administrators

The managerial and administrative system of the academic environment is governed by elected deans and rectors (presidents, vice-chancellors etc.) who in most cases are or have been professors. In some, mainly Anglo-Saxon, countries, the top management positions of academic institutions are filled by non-academics, while in most continental European countries the principle secretary, director or chief executive officer is subordinate to the academic governance and responsible for routine day-to-day administration (Kogan, 2007).

Administrative or 'non-academic' positions in the academic sphere are found in departments such as student services, libraries, human resources departments, public relations, bookkeeping, building maintenance etc. These departments typically have inbuilt their own hierarchies with their own directors or heads of department. They often collect and administer the data (processing, monitoring and control) related to registers, institutional, state and international policies, committees, providing support for research calls and reporting and administrating academic bodies such as committees, a collegium or senate. The complexity of these tasks might vary from very routine work and responsibility to very complex involving the areas of finance, marketing, international policy or legislation.

In recent times, the intensified relations between the academic world and external environment, domestic and international students, graduates, industry, as well as national and international agencies have been opening up new areas and roles for administrators that can either be traditionally administrative or gravitate more towards the domain of academics. As they have developed their own area of expertise and authority, they are becoming an increasingly important partner to academics in discussions related to supporting graduates' careers (see Schneijderberg and Merkator, 2013; DEHEMS, 2013).

The hybridization of academics in administrative positions

Academics have traditionally occupied leading positions not only in science but (some) also in academic and institutional management. These two domains are now becoming an open arena for a much more equal 'partnership' of both academics and administrators. This has been caused by factors external to higher education (massification, marketization, globalization, performativity) and institutional responses to these processes through their policies, missions, priorities and values (Krause, 2009; Zgaga, 2009). The substantial transformation of academic work has been defined as follows:

- the specialization of work in terms of disciplinary areas (Becher, 1989; Neumann, 2009);
- polarization between research and teaching (Elton, 1986; Krause, 2009) where the first activity is associated with increasing national and international competition and the second with student massification;
- (assertive) cooperation with industry (Etzkowitz, 2008);
- increasing precarization from the side of academic institutions and technocratic control over academic achievements (Musselin, 2007; 2009);
- work intensification (Ogbonna and Harris, 2004); and
- conflict roles and time perspectives (Ylijoki and Mäntylä, 2003).

These changes have resulted in the overlapping jurisdiction of administrators and academics in the area of institutional and academic management as well as some particular areas such as 'employability' issues, internationalization, organization and the recognition of practicums. Some issues that would traditionally fall within the jurisdiction of a department's 'scientific' development are through institutional, governmental and European regulation and monitoring also becoming the domain of administrators. On the other hand, certain particular financial and organizational issues are becoming the concern of academics. Bentley and Kyvik (2012), for example, found that "in countries with comparably steep academic hierarchies, professor positions typically entail significantly fewer teaching hours and more administration".

The overall results tend to be described differently. Some experts note the de-professionalization of academics in terms of losing the power to control their own work (Hinings, 2005; Evetts, 2013); others note the professionalization of academics in terms of not only being experts in knowledge creation and dissemination, but also experts in teaching modes, research management etc. Yet other experts consider the rise of higher educational professionals as undermining the complex roles of academics, while others note the coexistence of professionalization in higher education altogether through the complexity of academic roles and growing role of higher education professionals. To provide additional descriptions of changes in this domain: Kogan (2007, 164-165) refers to an increase in "mixtures of collegial, academic-based decision-making and bureaucratic-hierarchical working". Åkerlind and Kayrooz (2009) observe the emergence of a kind of academic freedom that entails the absence of institutional, societal and personal constraints on academic work. Musselin and Becquet (2008) point to the decline of academic identities based on disciplinary domains, institutional particularities, and one's own "biographical identity".

The 'employability' paradigm as a creator of changes in academic work

As already pointed out, the spread of the '*employability paradigm*' has been one of the most influential drivers of change in higher education since about the start of the 21st century. It refers directly to the substance and processes of study programmes, but its influence is much wider. As already mentioned, the 'employability paradigm' is part of a growing output and outcome awareness and is therefore closely linked to the expanding activities of evaluation, performance assessment and indicator-based steering.

In this framework, attention must be paid to the role of the 'employability paradigm' in the professionalization of academic work (see Kehm and Teichler, 2013) and the growth of the hybrid roles between academia and administration held by people who might be called new "higher education professionals" (Schneijderberg and Merkator, 2013; Schneijderberg et al., 2013). The latter is visible in the rise of career centres, marketing activities, output- and outcome-oriented assessment, alumni-related activities, support for experiential learning etc. At first glance, it is obvious that both academics and higher educational professionals are more strongly involved in absorbing information about graduate employment and work, in reflecting and implementing changes in curricula and teaching with a view to graduate employment and work, and in providing support and services that promise experiential learning as well as direct support for the transition to employment.

However, systematic analyses have hardly been conducted on the impact of the 'employability paradigm' on higher education. Questions such as the following would have to be asked in that framework.

1. Which main external drivers and policy actions triggered the 'employability' shift in higher education institutions, and how did they vary across academic disciplines and countries? In practical terms (e.g. teaching, learning, financing or career support), how were such actions manifested on the level of particular academic institutions?
2. What were the reactions of different professional groups within higher education institutions to these actions? Which general knowledge needs and actions did these external demands create? To what extent were these actions taken to support graduates' careers vis-à-vis strengthening and repositioning own professional positions?
3. What were the concrete implications of 'employability' in terms of generating new: i) bodies within higher education institutions (e.g. career centres and alumni services); ii) new(er) processes (e.g. tracer studies and support for traineeship); and iii) improvements to existing activities (e.g. teaching and learning in procects)?
4. What have been the short- and long-term consequences of these actions for jobs in academia, students and graduates?

In the subsequent analysis, we aim to establish how key actors in higher education – academics, administrators and persons in hybrid positions – understand the term 'employability'. Moreover, we explore the areas in which they suggest action to improve what they consider to be students' 'employability'.

CASE STUDY

Contextual background to the DEHEMS project

The DEHEMS project's main conceptual goal was to link the determinants and dimensions of graduates' career success in selected professional domains and fields of study with the expectations, practices and future challenges of higher education institutions. The project explored how much higher education management systems are evidence-driven, and addressed questions of the overall idea of higher education institutions and management, what these systems were doing to successfully and systematically help graduates make the transition to work, where higher education managers and academics see the biggest developmental needs etc. DEHEMS project organized conferences held in Vienna in 2011 and in Ljubljana in 2012. Both conferences offered a forum for the exchange of information and a discussion of the state of research on the relationships between higher education and the world of work. In order to capture the views of a diverse group of academics and practitioners in the field (career centre professionals, higher education managers and public administration managers), an analysis of their expressed priorities was undertaken.

Methodology

For that purpose, a research design based on between-method methodological triangulation was chosen (see Bryman, 2003; Fink, 2003). By employing two contrasting research methods – a qualitative survey and a qualitative face-to-face semi-structured interview – we seek to check the validity of a single study by cross-checking the findings with those gathered via another method, thereby reducing the uncertainty of a single study and its interpretation (Webb et al., 1966).

Qualitative survey

As qualitative surveys are particularly suited to examining the feelings, opinions and values of individuals (Fink, 2003, 62), we opted for an open-ended survey questionnaire. Instead of establishing clear frequencies, this approach aimed to determine the diversity of some topics of interest within a given population (Jansen, 2010) without any reduction through categories provided in the research instrument (see Boyatzis, 1998). Qualitative surveys prove especially useful when one cannot fully rely on one's own previous experience, when one wants to gather detailed information in the respondents' own words, or when individuals may be unwilling or unable to respond to "closed" questions (Fink, 2003, 62-68).

The combination of these three reasons, particularly the last two, led us to select this type of survey to investigate our target population – participants at the DEHEMS final conference in Ljubljana held in 2012. As part of the registration process, the participants had been asked/obliged to complete a short online self-administered survey questionnaire made up, apart from several demographical questions and a question related to disciplinarity, of an open-ended question on their priorities in the field. After checking for invalid and missing responses, we analyzed 234 out of 366 submitted survey questionnaires, thus allowing us to investigate potential differences between academics, higher education administrators and persons occupying hybrid roles. We analyzed the data so acquired by conducting an inductive content analysis focussing on differences (see Krippendorf, 2003), whereby most attention is devoted to the differences in priorities among observed individuals. To uncover and systematically analyze this bulk of unstructured data, the responses were coded using version 7.1.3 of the Atlas.ti software package.

Qualitative interviews

A semi-structured type of interview was conducted on a pre-selected target group. While a theme and some

topics were addressed, the interviews were carried out in such a way as to create an open and relaxed atmosphere, thus encouraging the interviewees to talk freely. This was done to discover the causes of certain views and attitudes (see Möhring et al., 2008, 2514). The interviewees were encouraged to give certain cues to elicit comments or statements that would not have surfaced in a standard interview. This 'topic-guide' type of semi-structured interview was regarded as the most appropriate for eliciting expert opinions (see ibid., 2515).

It was intended that the interviews conducted would be 'problem centered', i.e. reflecting the researcher's orientation to a relevant problem, 'object oriented', i.e. developing or modifying the questions with the research theme in mind, and 'process oriented', i.e. allowing understanding of the object of research (Flick, 2006, 161). A 'heuristic interviewing' (Legard et al. 2003, 140) approach was chosen according to which the interviewer sees the process of interviewing as collaboration between the researcher and the interviewee, whereby both persons share reflections and information.

Between April and May 2013, 37 interviews were conducted with academics, higher education administrators, and persons in hybrid roles (called higher education professionals). The interviewees came from six domains: Business and economics, life sciences, medicine, engineering, sociology and political science, and education and teaching. They were conducted in Slovenia by staff engaged by the DEHEMS project, had an average length of 45 minutes and were held in quiet public spaces or in individual working premises of an interviewee. The interviews were voice-recorded and later transcribed, while interview summaries were also created. Version 7.1.3 of the Atlas.ti software package was used for the analysis.

Results

Mapping the 'employability' discourse

The first theme of the analysis was use of the term 'employability'. In fact, 42% of 234 survey respondents reported they use the term when expressing their professional interest in the field. While some referred to career prospects in general, most understood 'employability' as a chance of becoming employed. To quote a typical example: *"I support students and graduates in finding a job. The employability of graduates is an important topic"*.

Use of the term 'employability' was most frequently reported by administrators – in general (61%) and in terms of becoming employed (52%), while the persons in hybrid roles and particularly the academics used the word less often. It is less common among persons in hybrid roles (43%) and academics in managerial roles, and even less often employed by academics with teaching and possibly research functions (approx. 30%). Again, reference is frequently made to the opportunity of becoming employed, whereby actions were often named (by about one-third of all respondents) with the aim of enhancing 'employability', for example: *"I am interested in changing the study programmes in a way that increases the employability of our students"*. Once again, the frequency of the actions named varies: 36% by administrators (36%), 29% by persons in hybrid roles (29%), and only 17% by academics (17%). While most respondents referred to the frequent and narrow sense of the term, some addressed the possible complexity and breadth of 'employability', for example: *"One of the main tasks … is related to employability issues (curriculum adaptation according to the competencies required in labour market; students' representations of job perspectives and requirements; recent graduates' satisfaction; career centre developments within higher education; partnerships with labour market stakeholders, etc.)"*.

Obviously, the term 'employability' is very much in the minds of the experts addressed in this study. Yet there are differences in the extent attention is focussed on the issue of becoming employed or directed towards a broader set of issues as well as it is seen as closely connected to certain higher education measures.

Priorities among the administrators, academics and persons in hybrid roles

What are the major areas of higher education activity associated with 'employability'. The surveyed administrators named – among the five themes addressed in the final DEHEMS conference – "Career centre developments" most often as important (37%). Persons in hybrid roles most frequently referred to "Accreditation and quality assurance of higher education programmes" and "Development in higher education institutional management" (each 32%) and also named "Practical training and Teaching and learning" (24%). In contrast, the academics referred to all five themes – the four named above plus "Practical training as well as teaching and learning" – to more or less the same extent.

Table 1 shows the responses after they were coded. This confirms that the administrators primarily have measures aiming at promoting career success in mind in this context (74%), for example: *"My professional interest is in the career development and career management of students and graduates"*. Persons in hybrid roles emphasize measures in the domain of higher education management (51%), while academics refer to a broad range of aspects, e.g. "Labour market and higher education relations", "Teaching and learning outcomes", "Higher education management" and "Practical orientation and training", with each named by between one-fifth and one-quarter of this group of respondents. Altogether, we may conclude that the administrators and persons in hybrid roles pay more attention to the labour market value of credentials, while academics are more concerned with educational measures relevant to subsequent professional work.

Table 1: Priority areas stated in the survey of activities related to the 'employability paradigm' and 'employability' pressures perceived, by type of experts (in per cent, N=234)

	Administrators		**Academics**		**Hybrid roles**		**TOTAL**		***Academics – Researchers***		***Academics with assigned roles***		***Academics - Teachers***	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1-Curriculum revision	7	11.3	20	16.5	13	25.5	40	17.1	14	16.3	5	20.8	2	8.3
2-General development of HES	11	17.7	21	17.4	9	17.6	41	17.5	18	20.9	4	16.7	2	8.3
3-Teaching and learning outcomes	8	12.9	29	24.0	9	17.6	46	19.7	14	16.3	5	20.8	15	62.5
4-HEI management	9	14.5	28	23.1	26	51.0	63	26.9	24	27.9	3	12.5	3	12.5
5-LM and HE relations	14	22.6	29	24.0	7	13.7	50	21.4	25	29.1	5	20.8	2	8.3
6-Measures to promote career success	46	74.2	22	18.2	7	13.7	75	32.1	15	17.4	7	29.2	5	20.8
7-PR, marketing	3	4.8	5	4.1	1	2.0	9	3.8	2	2.3	3	12.5	0	0.0
8-Practical orientation and training	9	14.5	25	20.7	11	21.6	45	19.2	15	17.4	6	25.0	7	29.2
9-Professional/Career success	12	19.4	12	9.9	5	9.8	29	12.4	11	12.8	1	4.2	1	4.2
10-Quality assurance	8	12.9	19	15.7	16	31.4	43	18.4	12	14.0	7	29.2	4	16.7
11-(Re)accreditation of programmes	3	4.8	10	8.3	10	19.6	23	9.8	5	5.8	8	33.3	2	8.3
EMPLOYABILITY PRESSURES ON HEI														
A-information on career success (tracking)	27	43.5	51	42.1	13	25.5	91	38.9	40	46.5	6	25.0	9	37.5
B-information and support to students/graduates	47	75.8	38	31.4	14	27.5	99	42.3	25	29.1	11	45.8	8	33.3
C-curriculum revision and development, T-L innovations	14	22.6	42	34.7	22	43.1	78	33.3	22	25.6	10	41.7	15	62.5
D-(re-)accreditation, external quality assurance	7	11.3	19	15.7	14	27.5	40	17.1	14	16.3	8	33.3	3	12.5
E-HEI management	9	14.5	27	22.3	26	51.0	62	26.5	23	26.7	3	12.5	3	12.5

Obviously, the administrators are most strongly interested in the availability of detailed labour market information in this context (as also revealed by the study by Janson, 2013), and they consider career guidance and other measures of career-related support as essential. In contrast, persons in hybrid roles, apart from being primarily concentrated on management issues, emphasize the importance of curriculum organization with the aim of delivering competencies highly valued in the labour market and by potential employers.

When asked explicitly in the interviews about priority areas of action, all three groups strongly emphasized curriculum development and curriculum revision (see Table 2). As one interviewee put it: *"There is a clear need for a shift from the teacher deciding the content of the curriculum on the basis of what he has to offer to the decision based on competencies a graduate needs to thrive in his professional field".*

In this framework, interviews with all groups pointed out problems such as insufficient infrastructure, understaffing (both administrators and academics), a lack of research grants, and difficulties in ensuring high competencies of graduates as a consequence of a high student-teacher ratio. All of these statements suggest that the shortage of higher education funding is a major impediment as far as 'employability' is concerned.

The three groups only differ on issues seen as relevant less often than the two issues named above. Some administrators call for information on career success, while some other administrators and persons in hybrid roles consider information and other means of direct support for students as important. The role of higher education management is underscored by persons in hybrid roles – albeit to a smaller extent in the interviews than in the written survey. Some persons in hybrid roles also call for cooperation with employers. Finally, some academics stress the role of accreditation and quality assurance in general to strength graduates' 'employability'.

Differences among the academics

Table 1 and Table 2 also provide information on three categories of academics: (1) "Researchers", i.e. those with substantial research tasks, including professors both in charge of research and teaching; (2) "Academics with assigned roles", i.e. those with substantial managerial tasks, e.g. deans; and (3) "Teachers", i.e. those primarily in charge of teaching. The responses do not vary substantially according to these three groups, but some differences are worth noting.

As Table 1 shows, academics with substantial research tasks are more often than others in favour of management-oriented approaches to strength 'employability'. They also often see a need to find ways to change the relationships between higher education and the labour market.

Academics with management tasks more often stress actions in the domain of accreditation or of other quality assurance measures, as the following example illustrates: *"Finally, since I am currently involved in re-accreditation of the sociology programme at the University of xxx, it is of paramount importance for me to be informed about the changing requirements of labour markets".*

Lastly, academics primarily in charge of teaching emphasize, as one might expect, the role of learning outcomes in this respect. One respondent stated: *"I wish to learn the latest findings and hope I will be able to use them to modify my teaching aims, methods and/or strategies to maximize the efficiency of study".*

Altogether, the results suggest that in response to the 'employability paradigm' academics do not only underscore the relevance of curricula, teaching and learning. They also highlight measures which are otherwise more strongly emphasized by the administrators and persons in hybrid roles. Moreover, the notions among academics with major research functions differ in some respects clearly from those chiefly involved in teaching. This is

Table 2: Priority areas expressed in the interviews as regards measures related to employability, by type of experts (N=37)

	Administrators	Academics	Hybrid roles	TOTAL
Information on career success	+			
Information and support to students/graduates	+		+	+
Curriculum development and (re)organization	+++	+++	++	+++
(Re)accreditation, quality assurance		+		
HEI management			+	+
Funding – infrastructural issues	+	+	++	++
Cooperation with employers			+	

(min= ; max=+++)

also visible in the interviews. While those strongly involved *in research stressed* in this context the need to acquire in-depth information on graduate employment and work, *those* with a predominant *teaching* role emphasize measures such as employing innovative teaching techniques and being active in career guidance.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, the rising popularity of the term 'employability' suggests that higher education is nowadays more strongly expected than in the past to provide evidence of the professional relevance of study programmes. Views differ strikingly on whether adaptation in line with the demands of the labour market is required or whether, for example, the aims of changing the world of work proactively can be viewed as a viable alternative. In any event, growing awareness of the relationships between higher education and the world of work is called for.

The 'employability discourse' not only affects notions of the relationships between study programmes and subsequent graduate employment and work and notions of the desirability of various educational-related activities. It also has an impact on the professional roles of the various professional actors within higher education. It is linked to the trend within higher education institutions of strengthening management vis-à-vis academia and with the increase in professional hybrid job roles: 'New higher education professionals' are primarily in charge of service and management-support activities, but this has to be done with close links to academic concepts and activities. As an overall consequence, the main actors in higher education can no longer be clearly viewed as simply polarized between academics and administrators.

The specific aim of this article was to explore the extent to which academics, administrators and persons in hybrid roles hold similar or different views as far as the concept of 'employability' and its major dimensions are concerned. In addition, attention was paid to the similarity of notions, in which areas measures are in place to enhance the professional relevance of study.

Altogether, all three groups highlight the often expressed understanding of 'employability' as the chance of getting employed. However, the academics in particular pointed out a more complex understanding. As regards suitable measures, the need for curricular measures was widely emphasized. Further, the three groups name areas of activity that are relatively close to their professional tasks. Moreover, among the academics we note differences congenial to their professional priorities between those strongly involved in research, those with a prime teaching function, and those with considerable additional managerial tasks.

The changing roles of academics, administrators and persons in hybrid roles have often been described as a trend towards the blurring of the traditional functions. The differences in the notions of 'employability', however, not only underscore such a blurring, but can also be interpreted as a growing division of labour combined with a growing division of notions and concept of higher education. The analysis of their notions of 'employability' does not provide a clear answer in one of these directions. The views are sufficiently diverse to ensure support overall for a broad range of measures to promote the professional relevance of study. But so far they do not signal a trend towards professional segmentation. In these circumstances, a certain degree of variation in the concept of 'employability' as well as in respective measures to be taken in higher education can co-exist.



Študenti med predavanji/Student sitting at the lecture. http://depositphotos.com/

HIBRIDNE VLOGE, ZAPOSLJIVOST IN SPREMEMBE V VISOKEM ŠOLSTVU: POGLED IZ AKADEMSKEGA TER ADMINISTRATORSKEGA ZORNEGA KOTA

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POVZETEK

V članku najprej predstavljamo relevantni diskurz o visokem šolstvu, trgu dela in zaposljivosti diplomantov. Nadalje razpravljamo o splošnih spremembah v delu akademikov in administratorjev ter problematiziramo značilnosti in posebnosti hibridizacije njihovega dela. Na tej podlagi gradimo celosten konceptualni in raziskovalni model, ki prevprašuje, kako zunanji družbeni in javnopolitični pritiski po zaposljivosti vplivajo na razpon del znotraj akademske sfere. Naposled tudi identificiramo in podrobneje raziščemo podrobnosti in razlike v delu akademikov, administratorjev ter njihovih hibridov. Analiza je osnovana na večmetodskem pristopu – odprtem anketnem vprašalniku o profilih 234 visokošolskih ustanov iz 20 evropskih držav ter na 37 intervjujih s strokovnjaki. Rezulatati kažejo razlike med prioritetami različnih nosilcev vlog znotraj visokega šolstva. V nasprotju z administratorji, ki preferirajo bolj praktično orientirane tematike, ki so povezane z usposabljanjem in karierami diplomantov, ter hibridnimi vlogami, ki preferirajo akreditacije, zagotavljanje kakovosti in z menedžmentom povezane ravni v visokem šolstvu, akademski delavci kažejo najbolj uravnotežene portfelje prioritet. Še več, identificirali smo vsepovsod prisotno nujo po odzivnosti potrebam s področja trga dela, vse intenzivnejše prilagajanje akademskega dela birokratiziranim postopkom ocenjevanja ter vidno polarizacijo med raziskovanjem ter poučevanjem.

Ključne besede: visoko šolstvo, trg dela, diplomanti, zaposljivost, akademska profesija, administratorji

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THE FOLLY OF EMPLOYABILITY: *THE CASE FOR A CITIZEN-DRIVEN MARKET ECONOMY*

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ABSTRACT

In this conceptual essay, the authors argue that the present approach taken in crafting economic, educational, and employment policies and structures imagines people as inanimate objects for policy makers and industry titans to leverage for their own interests. When the population is not immediately willing or able to accommodate the production and profit-making desires of the leaders, it is framed as a shortcoming in individuals and their communities rather than as a mismatch with the implicit assumptions of those promulgating such expectations. The authors develop an argument that if the policy makers and industry leaders truly believe in market solutions, then they should respect the vocational aspirations of the people and provide support for education and entrepreneurial skills to be developed in individuals to use as they wish. This recasting of a so-called "market" approach places the workers at the centre, believing that much stronger and sustainable economic returns would be realised whilst developing strong social capital in the process.

Key words: youth employability, tertiary education, vocational education and training, citizenship education, protean career, economic development

LA DISOCCUPAZIONE DEI GIOVANI E LA FOLLIA DELL'OCCUPABILITÀ: *ARGOMENTI PER UN'ECONOMIA DI MERCATO ORIENTATA VERSO IL CITTADINO*

SINTESI

In questo trattato concettuale noi, autori, difendiamo la posizione che l'approccio attuale alla formazione di politiche economiche e d'istruzione e politiche dell'occupazione vede gli individui come oggetti senz'anima, gestiti da chi ha potere decisionale e dai titani dell'industria secondo i propri desideri e interessi. Quando la popolazione non è pronta a soddisfare immediatamente i desideri produttivi o desideri, legati al profitto dei leader, questo è inteso come difetto degli individui e delle loro comunità e non come conseguenza di discrepanze di premesse implicite di coloro che diffondono tali aspettative. Per gli autori chi ha potere decisionale nella politica e i rappresentanti dell'industria, se in realtà hanno fiducia nei meccanismi del mercato, dovrebbero rispettare le aspirazioni di carriera degli individui e garantire il supporto alla strada d'istruzione da loro desiderata e allo sviluppo delle competenze imprenditoriali desiderate. La modifica di quello, che viene comunemente chiamato approccio "di mercato", pone al centro i lavoratori, poiché si basa sulla convinzione che con ciò saranno conseguiti effetti economici più duraturi e molto più forti, nonché uno sviluppo più forte del capitale sociale.

Parole chiave: occupabilità dei giovani, istruzione terziaria, istruzione e formazione professionale, educazione civica, carriera proteiforme, sviluppo economico

"Vocation is the place where your heart's deep gladness and the world's deep hunger meet." - Frederick Buechner (1973, 95)

INTRODUCTION

Policy makers, pundits, activists and researchers alike have all consumed substantial time and media debating the causes and cures of the most recent global economic crises. Given its ruinous effects bon economies, sectors, communities and individuals, it is unsurprising that stakeholders would be eager to explain and remedy the situation. Of course, there is considerable diversity in viewpoints about what the problem — or problems — may be, their causes and potential resolutions. Many of the assumptions and lenses informing debate are organized ideologically, alternately pointing toward regulatory, moderate or free-market frameworks for articulating the present circumstance's etiological foundations and curative interventions.

PANIC AND POLICY

Voices from each sector of Civil Society make their respective arguments for increasing or decreasing regulations, which industry might be the best hope for a region's or nation's future, whether to borrow from International funders, proper interest and inflation rates to stimulate growth, and arguing over technicalities ad nauseam. When signs of economic recovery begin to appear, discourse languishes and then disappears altogether until the inevitable subsequent crisis, activating this cycle anew. Those who hold the most agency within a political structure tend not to be seriously affected by shrinking economies, but rather take such moments — intentionally or inadvertently — as an opportunity to employ fear mongering tactics to extract increased controls over a system rigged in their favour, further enhancing their own financial security while disenfranchising those whose labour they rely upon to entrench their status. Such an argument smacks of class warfare, and the accusation of that is generally effective in deflecting attention away from interrogation of the present systemic arrangement. This is further entrenched by pitting equally disenfranchised groups against each other, often through the use of anti-immigrant, racist, sexist and other forms of identity politics (see Deželan, 2012). Contexts vary, but there are invariably scapegoats identified and excoriated, directing attention toward the latest so-called culprit and away from the fundamental dysfunction of the economic system they supposedly undermine. Such tactics get used for the simple reason that they are effective. These strategies have been reliable for a long time, but in an increasingly global economy, they are no longer sustainable.

Consider the case of the United States, arguably the most powerful economy in the world. The New York Times published a story (Lowery, 2013) reporting on a study conducted by the Urban Institute, a nonpartisan economic and social policy research center. The Institute's findings included the startling fact that the current generation of young adults has amassed less wealth then the previous generation. In short, this is the first generation with lower economic prospects than their parents, not only in terms of earnings and the prospect of home ownership, but also the tenuous future for pensions and access to health care. This is notable not only for the obvious trend reversal, but also because the recent modest economic recovery silenced further discussion about it. And, another article (Tseng, 2013) in the ironically named Fortune Magazine, indicated that

> *from 2009 to 2012, the top 1% incomes grew by 31.4% while the bottom 99% incomes grew a mere 0.4% ... mean[ing] the top 1% took more than one-fifth of the income earned by Americans — one of the highest levels since 1913 when the modern federal income tax started, the economists note. More than that, the top 1% incomes are close to full recovery while the bottom 99% incomes have barely started to recover.*

It is not irrelevant that, in the European area, since the 1990s university education has, ever more frequently, been referred to as higher education. This is not mere coincidence; it responds to a special internationally felt sensibility that refers to the need to focus on the whole person, at every educational level and, therefore, to attend to the many and varied dimensions of human life and of society. Some authors have referred to this worldwide phenomenon as: the "rise of civic-mindedness" (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994; Kymlicka, 2000). This sensibility can be found in the area of sociology and psychology, and of course, in the field of education (Callan, 1997; Pearce and Hallgarten, 2000; Sober and Wilson, 1998; Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen, 2003; Naval, 2003; 2006).

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

It is generally agreed that higher education should prepare students to be reflexive, critical citizens, capable of agential thinking and action. A non-critical university student is inconceivable within the paradigm of education's espoused values. Our critique, however, is that there is an incongruence between espoused and enacted values when students are simply being processed through so-called quality assurance regimes that seem more interested in producing cattle-like commodities for economic systems that secure the interests of a small privileged class. We would suggest instead that graduates of any educational program must be involved in social issues and try to conceive or change whatever is needed to pursue justice and the common good. This

demands the development of diverse skills that the university should inspire, and suggests that doing one's work effectively involves both technical and contextual dimensions. So, doing a "good job" should manifest as effective technical acumen at one's craft, producing work products as an expression of talent for the benefit of one's own livelihood and creative enterprise for the benefit of those receiving or consuming the fruits of labour.

We advocate for an alternative framework in which it is assumed that people have innate assets and talents that deserve encouragement, guidance, and opportunities for expression. It is recognized that the present discussion is conceptual, and readers could understandably become frustrated that a straightforward list of strategies or an aesthetically pleasing chart isn't included to solve the problem. However, such a static resource wouldn't achieve the aims of this essay. We are speaking of a dispositional shift rather than simply a tactical one. If readers could imagine the present economic and educational systems were embodied in a single person, that person would arguably be a cynical, oppositional and unpleasant one. In what ways could policy-making and resource distribution communicate a belief in human ingenuity rather than an assumption that people are ungrateful and weak, requiring regulation? History has repeatedly demonstrated that amazing and beneficial inventions arose from people and circumstances that were unconventional. Giving people access to educational programs and seed funding in areas of their choosing would be unconventional because it would communicate trust in a courageous way that only seems so because it is rare.

Related, the Vocational Education and Training (VET) sector and its activities are often superficially considered only in terms of instrumental preparation of students to complete certain job tasks competently. While many educators working in the VET sector must contend with such diminishing, marginalising and reductionist characterisations, they generally understand that the training they conduct is contextualized within the needs, aspirations and values of the people being trained, and those who will benefit from their work products. In fact, all sectors of education rely upon, and promulgate ethical principles, social sensibilities about honesty and integrity, and the notion that the work of their graduates is worthy of respect. The students, on their part, tend to be eager to learn and must overcome insecurities about their capabilities and potential social barriers to their entry and success in their chosen field.

While there may be critiques about changes in pressures and expectations of the various educational sectors, it is arguably the case that university education increasingly emphasises technical training and professional skills, and vocational education increasingly emphasises civic dispositions and reflective thinking. In other words, categorical lines and roles within education systems, and between the educational and other civil societal sectors are increasingly blurred. This is not to suggest that the societal status enjoyed by these particular educational sectors are near parity, but it nonetheless points to their shared interests and the possibility of greater simpatico. We would suggest it is important to consider how such goals and values alignment could invite more access to, and support for education in general. More to the point, education is an enterprise that defies artificial separation of technical, professional, personal, thoughtful, communal, national, regional, and global; all of which are part and parcel of a whole. The parsing of this whole drives people apart, defying our innate need for connection, for seeing and being seen by each other.

This is not simply tender-hearted sensibility, it should be noted that the typical rhetorical and structural distinctions imposed on educational sectors and skill development happens also to be bad for business and the economy as well. Whibbs (2014) argues,

> *Increasing sectors of the economy are seeking applicants who hold, what [David] Ticoll [Special Advisor to the Canadian Coalition for Tomorrow's ICT Skills] called, 'mashup' skills: some level of critical thinking abilities, analytical skills, communications abilities, knowledge of industry sub-sectors and industry-relevant skills training. In this case, Ticoll was speaking about IT fields: visual design students who have some training in art history, web design, and publishing, or IT lawyers that have some training in computer science/studies. The discussion stuck with me: is the divide necessary? Does the divide between trade, diploma and degree-level education still serve the economy in the same way that it did decades ago? Could paths be developed to broaden 'mash-up' training between nontraditional degree and apprenticeship-level studies? Is it necessary? Increasingly, the answer seems to be: yes. Many industries are requiring graduates to have 'mash-up' training, but it is up to graduates to cobble together the necessary education and training.*

RECASTING LENSES AND POLICIES: TOWARD A PROTEAN CAREER FRAMEWORK

Taber and Briddick (2011, 107), in discussing career and vocational counselling, argue that:

> *Work also provides a forum where people can express their talents and interests (Super, 1951), cultivate feelings of competency and esteem, take the opportunity to cooperate with others, and secure a means of economic gain (Herr, Cramer and Niles, 2004). While participation in work is fundamental for both society and the individual,*

the nature of work has become more precarious in recent years (Kalleberg, 2009).

Moreover, discourses associated with economic and employment issues, as well as resultant policy frameworks almost invariably focus on impersonal and instrumental components such as the number of available or anticipated jobs in a given industry or the organization of qualification frameworks.

What tends to be missing, however, is attention to the psychosocial importance of work to individuals and communities, creating a substantial gap between conceptual and experiential dimensions of work. This gap interferes with effective development of civil societal infrastructure to achieve and maintain economic aims. Career, educational and economic policies relating to employment continue to be rooted in traditional theoretical notions that hard work will more than likely be reciprocated with stable, sustainable employment. Yet, any reasonable person would likely agree that this is no longer an accurate, predictable or sustainable reality (Taber and Briddick, 2011).

The increasingly global influences affecting employment opportunities, along with abrupt shifts in economic circumstances make it nearly impossible for someone to be reasonably assured of sufficient employment or a living wage. Briscoe and Hall (2006, 5) point to growing interest in examining career development as an expression of individuals' identities and even life purpose, noting:

In the last several years, the protean and boundaryless career concepts have framed the thinking of academics and career practitioners. They have enjoyed considerable success as accepted metaphors in the field of career theory. This popularity attests to the appropriateness and timeliness of these metaphors to describe the current economic and employment relationships that are defined in many cases by less loyalty, greater mobility, and less certainty. (Cappelli, 1999; Rousseau, 1995)

Taber and Briddick (2011, 108) further argue:

Today's world of work requires a different way of thinking about and approaching one's career in the midst of many uncertainties. Accordingly, career theorists have turned their attention to self--directedness as a means of understanding how people negotiate the multitude of intricacies they face in the work world as they attempt to maintain lifetime employability (e.g. Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Hall, 2004).

Briscoe and Hall (2002; 2006, 8) refer to a "protean" career as holding a self-directed orientation and approach, driven by that individual's values. In their view, two hallmarks characterize the protean career:

(1) values driven in the sense that the person's internal values provide the guidance and measure of success for the individual's career; and (2) self-directed in personal career management — having the ability to be adaptive in terms of performance and learning demands. We are more concerned here with the stance or "orientation" one takes toward the career rather than the career structure itself.

Inkson (2006) recognizes that the whole notion of a career is an abstract concept for which metaphors can be helpful for individuals and groups to make meaning of a set of experiences. The term, "protean career" was first introduced by Hall (1976) in their book, *Careers in Organizations* as a contrast to more traditional models. It refers primarily to a worker-centred and thus agential paradigm for consideration of careers, educational program, and a fundamentally entrepreneurial arrangement of economic and employment regimes. Inkson (*ibid.*) proposes:

...the protean and boundaryless career metaphors appear right for the times. The meanings of the terms and the imagery that they convey are in sympathy with conditions of rapid technological, organizational and social change. The metaphors are also ideological in that they legitimize individual career actors' emancipation from the constraints of "traditional" careers. The new metaphors implicitly and sometimes explicitly extol individual agency over organizational structure as a basis for career development, and advocate individual adaptability and pro-activity in changing or ambiguous circumstances.

The term, "protean" refers to a high degree of versatility and flexibility, driven by the person concerned according to their identity, temperament, values and self-direction (Briscoe and Hall, 2002). Thus, employment/employability models based on the concept assume mobility (both in terms of changing jobs and geographic locations) and career success are intimately entwined, part and parcel of the same thing (Forrier, Sels and Stynen, 2009). Indeed, the protean lens recognizes that human capital is increased through self-direction, values expression and mobility. If there ever was a time when people could rely on a particular job being available to them over decades, such is a now a relic of the past. So, rather than assuming a worker to be unreliable or otherwise problematic because of regular job transitions or periods of unemployment, the "new normal" so to speak calls for an appreciation that a variety of vocational changes is an indicator of resilience and versatility.

As such, people who pursue a variety of enterprises and educational programs offer social and cultural capital rather than the suggestion of unreliability or other concerning weaknesses. So, a policy and resource allocation regime based on reformed assumptions holds great promise for generating hopeful possibilities in a national, regional or global economy. Forrier, Sells and Stynen (2009, 744) offer the term, "movement capital," suggesting that,

> *by including the concept of adaptability, we explicitly recognize that the notion of movement capital does not only involve building-blocks (human capital and social capital) and direction (self-awareness) but also dynamics (adaptability). Movement capital is at the centre of attention in an agency perspective on career mobility.*

Sullivan and Arthur (2006) advocate for recognition of the interdependence between physical and psychological career worlds. A protean career model thus appreciates that individuals may practice a particular professional skill under several employers during their lifetime. The quality of one's work products would thus be validated in a variety of ways (e.g. markets, qualification frameworks, feedback from beneficiaries, etc.) rather than solely through one traditional mechanism. There is also a strong recognition that personal or family circumstances (in addition to temperament, aptitude, and interests) figure into career interests and pursuits. This is a contrast to the traditionalist ideas associated with so-called employability frameworks. In short, a protean employment and education arrangement invests in people and their agency, whereas the models that dominate the current landscape invests in bureaucracy. Governments, industry leaders, and trade associations continuously repeat this pattern, investing in a form of sustainability that is illusory. This is why it may seem counterintuitive to suggest that resource shortage is not the factor preventing individuals from accessing funds and educational programs necessary to pursue their occupational aspirations. Rather, the available resources are consumed primarily by the very structures that espouse individual empowerment while enacting deprivation.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

Interdependence through work provides individuals with ways to contribute meaningfully to the general social welfare of the community at large (Dreikurs in Taber and Briddick, 2011, 107). For this reason, we can underline all educational sectors' contributions as transcendent of technical and professional preparation. They also act in service to the formation of mature, reflexive, critical individuals and an awakening of interest in civic issues among its students (Llano, 2003). This implies two aspects: the first, critical and the second, participative. Thus no sector of education can consign itself to merely transmitting instrumental knowledge or lofty thinking, but must also see itself as a collaborator in the education of future technicians, professionals and citizens, irrespective of birth certificate, passport or social identity. In this sense it aims to promote the development of two types of skills among students (Veldhuis, 1997; Naval, 2000; Ugarte and Naval, 2008; 2010):

- Intellectual skills. They facilitate students' conquest of critical thinking, by helping them be reflexive citizens who are capable of openly and constructively criticising the realities on which they have reflected. Outstanding amongst these skills are, among others, personal leadership, integrity and the capacity for decision-making.
- Participative skills. They help the students to increase their civic commitment and to exercise active citizenship responsibly. Particularly outstanding amongst these abilities are communication skills, negotiation skills, and a capacity to solve problems and resolve conflicts, initiative, and teamwork.

These skills may be developed in higher education within the different subjects in theoretical and practical ways that lend to knowledge translation. Society demands that students in any educational program graduate with more than excellent technical knowledge of their profession. Something else is needed, something that has been called professional skills: teamwork, honesty, dedication and industry, and communication skills (Le Boterf, Barzucchetti and Vincent, 1995). Moreover, these future professionals are required to be capable of making decisions based on reflection and analysis, and, for the sake of corporate social responsibility, are required to be sensitive to social problems.

The objective of developing intellectual and participative skills can be seen in the consolidated habits, which are the practical and operative proof of personal and social values. Educating people who will become technicians, professionals, entrepreneurs, civic and government leaders, partners and parents who are critical and participative citizens implies insisting that the students have stable attitudes such as: respect, solidarity, tolerance, comprehension, civic courage – tenacity or fortitude in their fidelity to their own convictions (Medina, 2002), interest in political and social problems, political confidence and efficacy, and loyalty (Naval, 2000). These skills are essential for quality professional achievement and are the bases for critical and reflective thinking, and also for that civic commitment which contributes to the common good. In short, it is a question of helping to discover the value of placing one's personal freedom at the service of individual, professional and social improvement.

POLICY MAKING AND WORLDVIEW

This framework leads us to the inevitable question of reciprocity. It is likely that policy makers and business

leaders will find many points of agreement in what has been said here thus far. It has become quite fashionable to use phrases as "evidence-based" in setting policies and so-called best practices. In this case, evidence is defined as documented patterns of behaviour and work products arising from particular interventions or precipitating stimuli. Ironically, however, the majority of efforts to stimulate economies and increase production and consumption of goods and services involve regulatory pressures, demands, threats, and conditional access to the resources required to generate such outputs. Such tactics are regarded as "best practices," but they represent an intensely cynical worldview, eliciting the opposite of what they claim to intend. Even the term, "employability" frames the individual or population concerned as having some measurable quality that is entirely based on the values of a group of people who implicitly have a lot of that quality, so much so that they would presume to judge the amount and value in the former. This is a diminishing and noxious dynamic that perpetually generates mistrust, resentment, disincentives to cooperation, and invariably painful and chaotic economic cycles that undermine social cohesion, civic commitment and the very fabric of democracy (see Deželan et al., 2014).

A gracious consideration of the pressures and challenges facing policy makers, bureaucrats, educators and industry leaders would lead us to assume that they too feel — at least at times — as if they are in a no-win situation. Protests, criminality, property destruction, social and economic stagnation, brain-drain, influxes of people who do not yet have the familiar and desired credentials leaders hope to see, and more generally a sea of tired and unhappy faces on the streets all give a sense that the situation is impossible and hopeless. We have all the evidence necessary to determine that our typical approaches — even our so-called best practices — don't work, or at least not sustainably. Why not try something unconventional? Whatever we are afraid to lose is already gone, or perhaps it is only revisionist to believe we ever had it. It's time to change our approach, and our suggestion for a new direction is novel only because of its simplicity.

BELIEVING IN PEOPLE

It may surprise some readers that we, too, advocate for market-based solutions. But, we need to clarify how we define the market. In this case, the market we speak of is comprised of the workers, the people whose labor is required for industries to function or to be conceived in the first place. If policy makers and industry leaders truly believe in market solutions, then they should respect the vocational aspirations of the people and provide support for education and entrepreneurial skills to be developed in individuals to use as they wish, trusting that this "market" approach would yield the strongest economic returns while also developing strong social capital in countries and regions. This is not simply a romantic and naïve sentiment. Obviously the individuals who sell handicraft, fruits, and other goods and services on the streets will be witness to, and affected by trends in demand well before bureaucrats and corporate heads. The former can invent and test their ideas on short notice, while the latter are in a constant state of reaction. The former can target prevention and intervention efforts with fine precision, while the latter are inevitably out of sync despite any good intentions associated with policy making and resource distribution. A moderate, reasoned and prudent alternative is to invest in human capacity and the social capital it generates for the greater good.

Consider for a moment that we three colleagues who are writing this essay come from three world regions (Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and North America) and disparate personal backgrounds. We each had our respective interests as children and young adults, and pursued education and professional opportunities to the extent we were able in our respective situations. We had our respective successes and hardships, and fortunately gained access to educational programs that led to us all becoming university teachers. We teach different but complementary subjects to the benefit of our students and their future families, communities, employers, and nations. Had we waited to be identified by a governmental agency as prospective candidates for such posts, we would still be waiting.

Governments speak a great deal about jobs, but they are simply not capable of connecting people with their calling. However, they are well positioned to craft policy and resource allocation to encourage creative risk in ways that individuals may not be. There is an expression, "*one cannot grow a flower by pulling on it*," and so governmental and industry leaders require discipline to transcend the control-orientated approach in favor of a trusting and organic one. The sociology of power makes this a countercultural proposition, but a sensible one that is rooted in the evidence of humanity. It is in that spirit, and in the service of vocation that we demonstrate this approach through the risk of sharing three personal vignettes that collectively illustrate the benefit of what we are proposing.

Case 1: Jason Laker

My maternal grandparents immigrated to the United States to escape Nazi occupation and war in their countries (Poland and Yugoslavia) and almost certain death (indeed, many of their family and community members were killed during that time). They arrived in Detroit, Michigan, USA without resources. My grandfather became a mentee of a man in the furniture business, and eventually he succeeded in establishing three stores of his own. As a child, I recall playing in the furniture stores, which had mock rooms to display sofas, beds, cabinets and so forth. Many adults of different cultures shopped

in the stores, and I had opportunities to study them without them noticing me. My paternal grandparents sold home improvement products such as new windows, doors and roofs. I would go with them or with my father on sales calls into people's homes. These two sets of experiences provided an education about people, families and communities that could never be duplicated in formal educational programs. We were not wealthy, but we fortunately had our material needs met by the industry of my family. I learned a lot about entrepreneurship and human nature, and the diversity of people with whom I interacted nurtured an appreciation of, and curiosity about human differences and our personal interests, goals and stories. My parents encouraged me to attend university — something they were unable to do — though they were not in a position to help me fund it.

Although I was studying Broadcasting and Communications, I was very active in student governance and various campus organizations. This led to my developing opinions and critiques about how the administration was managing the university, and I decided to pursue that as a career. I began my career managing a single residence hall and enroling in an evening graduate program studying counselling. I applied for successively more advanced positions over the years, becoming a Dean of Students when I was 32, also teaching courses about gender. I moved to Canada when Queen's University hired me to oversee a large Student Services Division of 250 employees in 23 departments, and continued to teach and research about gender and social diversity, also becoming a Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Democracy in the School of Policy Studies. In 2008, I had an opportunity to attend an educational institute in Costa Rica at the U.N. mandated University for Peace, where I met my colleague, Kornelija Mrnjaus. I read about Concepción Naval's research on an educational listserv, and wrote to her with questions about her work to which she graciously responded. In 2009, she was invited to a conference in St. Petersburg, Russia pertaining to civic pedagogies, and she kindly obtained invitations for Kornelija and me. There, three of us were in the same room for the first time, and we conceived the idea for a book project about our shared interests in Citizenship and Democratic Education. This grew to two edited texts, one of which had a wonderful chapter about democratic and citizenship education in Slovenia by our colleagues, Tomaž Deželan and Alem Maksuti. In turn, Tomaž alerted us to the opportunity to write this article, leading to you reading it. The organic nature in which social interactions and curiosity enabled all that has happened is part and parcel of the model being advocated for here.

Case 2: Concepción Naval

Some time ago, I learned something from my family that has always been of assistance in my personal and professional life, and can be summarized in this phrase: "Dreaming is not enough". I think I have been a dreamer all my life, but I have also been tenaciously hard working. That is to say, we must not allow the problems or difficulties that appear to stop us; let us consider projects for the common good with magnanimity, and try not to have a barren life but rather a useful one, which will leave its mark on society.

But there are no pathways laid out to achieve this. We make them, through the mountains, with our footprints. What I mean to say is that we should dream and work in accordance to give life to those dreams with freedom, with confidence, shoulder to shoulder with everyone, with no limits. What makes us constant in our determination? It is the vision of the good we can achieve, our purpose and end. So am I an idealist? Yes I am, but with my feet firmly on the ground. Dreaming is free, but fulfilling those dreams is not. The truth is that frequently we do not go far enough in our dreams.

I am sure that my life nowadays owes a lot to my dreaming during my adolescence. It was then that I decided on the professional vocation that has heartened and enlivened my work in the world of education and the university over the 25 years I have spent on these tasks. Several very different options were open to me then, due to the appropriate idealism of someone of my age and perhaps honed by my personality. A healthy desire to assist people was behind my choice of studies, summer pursuits, etc. There was no shortage of voices attempting to direct me towards the world of business, of economics, always with the utmost respect, at the beginning of my university studies when I expressed my desire to read Education. The reasons for this advice were clear: my psychological profile and flair, and above all... my future in the world of work would be clear; this was not so with Education Studies. I believe that I made the right choice, for every reason, and the passage of time has made me see this even more clearly.

Case 3: Kornelija Mrnjaus

As a child I played being a teacher. In my room, I made a blackboard out of my closet door and taught my imaginary classroom. When I was 14, I had to choose which high school to attend, and that was a challenge since I had no idea at that time what type of work I wanted to do as an adult. My class was very competitive. There were 36 of us in the classroom and the average score for whole class was 4.6 out of a possible five. Many of my classmates were children of lawyers, doctors, university professors and they knew (or their parents knew) what they would study. My father finished VET school and became a painter, and my mother finished primary school. All three of us knew that I should "go further" but they gave me freedom to choose what I wanted to be. They always said to me that I am learning for myself and they would support me in whatever I decided. It was during my time in grammar school that the political changes started in my country (the former Yugoslavia, now Croatia), which involved declaration of national in-

dependence, war and democratic elections. Those times were very insecure, and as I observe my classmates from grammar school, I can say that all those events made it much harder to grow into adulthood.

During my vocational journey, I moved to Austria where I worked on a horse farm. I also finished my doctoral study there. At the end of my study, a former professor from the university contacted me and said that they are searching a new person at their department (pedagogy) and she asked me if I have interest. I said yes, and have been a university professor for over seven years.

My professional career was driven by many coincidences (or perhaps there are no coincidences?) and is a good example of what happen when we lose the goal in our life. Without a clear picture and without knowing who we are, our strengths and weaknesses, we will be just driven by the stream. Others will decide what is good for us. In a situation in which it is difficult to get a job, like in Croatia where 10% of the population generally, and 50% of young people are unemployed, it can be a challenge for people to believe that they can work at what they love and get paid for it. Most of my students think that they have no influence on their destiny and that they will accept any job they can get. Yet many of them don't get a job for many years and with a university diploma they work in cafés and shops. I believe that we should shape the market. If we aren't working at what we have strength in, our employers will be frustrated and we will constantly get the message that we are not good enough. We should help children to get know themselves, their strong sides - how they react in certain situations, where they feel the best (e.g. in nature, in an office) and we should allow them to express their personalities without fear of being different and shape the conditions where they can develop their full potential.

IMPLICATIONS

The three authors have different social identities, were born and raised in different world locations under varying political and social contexts. None of our respective educational and vocational journeys were linear or predictable, including the ways in which we became acquainted. We combined motivation with opportunities to share our stories and activities with each other, leading to several mutually elevating collaborations. It is most unfortunate and offensive that luck is such a substantial variable in people's fate in a world that has enough resources for everyone.

CONCLUSION

Periods of economic decline activate panic and reactive political maneuvering. At face value, Austerity measures seem practical for the obvious reason that they are imposed to remove budget deficits. However, they create relational deficits, inflaming latent racial, ethnic, sexist and/or anti-immigrant resentments, activating historically privileged groups to scapegoat those whom they perceive as interlopers in their entitled financial position. There is a documented pattern of precipitous increases in violence against marginalized groups, including women, during difficult financial times.

Humans simply do not have access to their better, more creative and industrious selves during times of fear, anxiety and conflict. If the policy of a government is to stimulate solidarity first, then synergistic alliances and economic recovery invariably follow. The present approach to governance during economic upheaval typically makes things worse, or presents an illusion of improvement that only benefits a privileged few.

"Employability" is a deficit-based framework that assumes the variables reside with the individual citizen, ignoring the influence of such things as discrimination (gender, race, ethnicity, nationality) or variations in access to financial resources, personal confidence, political and social influence, or even social capital and encouragement. In our conceptual discussion, as well as in our personal vignettes, we demonstrate that nothing in life can be predicted. Many opportunities are not obvious, and many potentially valuable uses for knowledge and skills rely on serendipity and kindness. It seems incredible to us that any leader would believe that a rational inventory of skills or their applications is possible or desirable, that these can be matched precisely with available jobs, or that such jobs would animate the spirit of the workers and produce good outcomes for employers and customers.

David Kirp, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley, authored an opinion editorial article in the New York Times (2014) in which he asserts:

> *Today's education reformers believe that schools are broken and that business can supply the remedy. Some place their faith in the idea of competition. Others embrace disruptive innovation, mainly through online learning. Both camps share the belief that the solution resides in the impersonal, whether it's the invisible hand of the market or the transformative power of technology.*
> *Neither strategy has lived up to its hype, and with good reason. It's impossible to improve education by doing an end run around inherently complicated and messy human relationships. All youngsters need to believe that they have a stake in the future, a goal worth striving for, if they're going to make it in school. They need a champion, someone who believes in them, and that's where teachers enter the picture. The most effective approaches foster bonds of caring between teachers and their students.*

This resonates with the fundamental premise of our argument that people should be at the centre of any policy making and/or fiscal activity. Further, humans devel-

op and flourish within relationships, and so it should be the goal of any policy maker to elevate human connections rather than escalate competition between them. It would seem counterintuitive to make access to grants, low or no interest loans, and free or low cost tuition to training and educational programs a universal right. Resistance to such an idea rests on fear, perhaps about resource limitations, abuse or fraud. This typically leads to onerous regulations and distribution processes rationalized as a necessity for some measure of order. But, this also means that all people — mainly the honest, sincere, and motivated ones — are subjected to the same constraints as the few who would not act responsibly. This is fundamentally suggesting that fiscal and educational policies are organized around mistrust and a pessimistic worldview. It is not difficult to list off examples of the most unpleasant and problematic behaviours as justifications. Arguably, neither would it be difficult to point to examples of incredible ingenuity, poignant success stories, or acts of profound generosity. Which orientation would readers prefer to guide the political, educational and economic systems? More to the point, how is the present orientation working?

We propose that policy making and resource allocation should privilege the occupational and creative agency of the people, and their access to educational programs and social supports to help them invent or reinvent themselves. We would further argue that this would not be nearly as expensive as the control-based approach, the folly of which is obscured by perpetual fear of leaders and those who are relying on them. The infrastructure of distrust is costlier than its alternative. The faith required to implement this approach would soon be replaced by the dividends of dreams realized, financial returns, social cohesion, and the stability that our irrational policies have repeatedly failed to achieve.

NEZAPOSLENOST MLADIH IN NOROST ZAPOSLJIVOSTI: *ARGUMENTI ZA V DRŽAVLJANA USMERJENO TRŽNO GOSPODARSTVO*

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POVZETEK

V tem konceptualno naravnanem eseju avtorji zastopamo stališče, da trenutni pristop k oblikovanju gospodarskih in izobraževalnih politik ter politik zaposlovanja razume posameznike kot brezdušne predmete, s katerimi politični odločevalci ter industrijski titani upravljajo po lastnih željah in interesih. V primerih, ko prebivalstvo ni hipno pripravljeno ugoditi produkcijskim ali profitnim željam voditeljev, se to razume kot pomanjkljivost posameznikov ter njihovih skupnosti, in ne kot posledica neujemanja implicitnih predpostavk tistih, razširjajo taka pričakovanja. Avtorji zastopajo razmišljanje, da bi javnopolitični odločevalci in predstavniki industrije, če v resnici zaupajo v tržne mehanizme, morali spoštovati poklicne aspiracije posameznikov in zagotavljati podporo njihovi željeni izobraževalno pot in razvoju v smeri željenih podjetniških kompetenc. Preoblikovanje tako imenovanega "tržnega" pristopa v središče postavlja delavce, saj je osnovano na prepričanju, da bodo s tem doseženi precej močnejši in trajnejši gospodarski učinki ob hkratnem močnejšem razvoju socialnega kapitala.

Ključne besede: zaposljivost mladih, terciarno izobraževanje, poklicno izobraževanjein usposabljanje, državljanska vzgoja, protejska kariera, gospodarski razvoj

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EXPLORING LEARNING OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING STUDENTS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

The paper explores the learning and working activities of vocational education and training (VET) students in seven European countries. The paper finds that i) there are large differences among the countries in the time spent in school, ii) that learners spend very little time studying for school at home, iii) interest in 'academic' school subjects is very low, iv) much time is spent on socialisation and passive forms of learning and v) a large number of VET students are engaged in paid work. Drawing on both information process and social learning approaches the paper recommends that strategies for VET development – curriculum, pedagogy, institutional organisation and pathways – should be informed by a better understand of the perspective of the VET learner as an individual with a range of activities, interests and attachments rather than simply viewing learners as customers or clients for VET provision.

Key words: vocational education and training, learning, teaching, information process learning, social learning

RICERCA SULL'APPRENDIMENTO NEL CAMPO DELL'ISTRUZIONE E DELLA FORMAZIONE PROFESSIONALE NEGLI STATI EUROPEI

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta le specifiche dell'apprendimento e del lavoro degli studenti nell'istruzione e nella formazione professionale in sette Stati europei: Austria, Grecia, Lituania, Lettonia, Germania, Slovenia e Regno Unito (Inghilterra). Le constatazioni principali sono: a) tra gli Stati esistono grandi differenze nella quantità di tempo che gli studenti passano a scuola, b) gli studenti studiano molto poco fuori dalla scuola, c) le aspirazioni riguardanti le classiche forme di apprendimento sono molto basse, č) gli studenti spendono molto tempo libero per le forme passive di apprendimento e per la socializzazione, d) molti studenti nell'istruzione e nella formazione professionale lavorano per soldi. Anche se le constatazioni nell'articolo sono fondate su contesti specifici nazionali dell'istruzione professionale, abbiamo riportato alcune constatazioni universali.

In base alle teorie dell'apprendimento situazionale e informativo-processuale l'articolo propone l'unione di diversi contesti dell'apprendimento classico e situazionale, nonché miglioramenti nel campo delle forme di apprendimento meno classiche. Tutti gli Stati dovrebbero impegnarsi in futuro a instaurare un sistema d'istruzione classica di qualità e più attrattivo per gli studenti. Le materie scolastiche generali, quali la matematica, la lingua materna e quella straniera, hanno, infatti, un ruolo enorme per lo sviluppo della carriera professionale, ma anche per la cittadinanza attiva. Lo sviluppo dei curriculum deve tener necessariamente conto di ciò che gli studenti fanno nel tempo libero e impegnarsi che studino di più dopo la scuola: troppo poco studio influisce sul rendimento scolastico. Lo sviluppo futuro dei sistemi dovrebbe prudentemente tener conto dell'inclusione degli studenti nel mercato del lavoro, del riconoscimento e della valorizzazione delle esperienze lavorative.

Parole chiave: istruzione e formazione professionale, studio, insegnamento, apprendimento informativo-processuale, apprendimento situazionale

INTRODUCTION

Research and policy development in the area of vocational education and training (VET) systems are looking at how systems are contributing to competitiveness and economic growth by providing specific and generic competencies and, second, promoting social inclusiveness (Grigić and Pavlin, 2013, 8). These developments assume there is a need to make education systems more flexible due to globalisation pressures and economic crisis. Therefore various VET stakeholders are together with employers increasingly creating links that validate, certify and recognise various teaching and learning activities (Werquin, 2010).

Another driver for strengthening research into VET students' learning processes is pluralisation and hybridisation of occupations and professions that gravitate towards different educational structures (Pavlin et al., 2010). These processes generate increasingly flexible relations between formal qualifications and acquired skills, occupational regulations and employment protection. In practical and theoretical terms these processes relate to credentialism and social protection, over-qualification, vertical and horizontal mismatches, along with phenomenon of employment and employability. In simple words this also means that some occupations that have traditionally required secondary level of education (ISCED 3-4) might over time require graduates with higher levels of education, while on the other hand other occupations might lower levels of learning experiences.

Learning in school, free time and at work are key factors of school and career success and generate individuals' social and employability capacities (Allen et al., 2011; Deželan et al., 2014 ; Živoder, 2013). Accordingly, evidence about learning processes are vital for designing curricula in terms of their labour market orientation, congruency with industrial sectors, and further education and occupational segments. The concept of school and career success also fits well into these policy debates partially as educational responses to economic crisis. In this context, VET policies try to improve level of acquired students' competencies, promote social inclusiveness, raise the general status of VET, promote recognition of prior learning and apply student-centred teaching principles.

Building on the above mentioned issues this paper explores learning, teaching, free-time activities and working of VET students in seven European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia and United Kingdom) which formed the consortium of the 7EU-VET project (2014-) that generated detailed methodological approach to understanding and comparing various VET systems. The main goal of the paper is to explore and compare different learning activities of VET students in a country comparative fashion, and on this basis offer recommendations for research and policy development. In the next section we first describe theories of information process and social learning which present the main conceptual and interpretative framework of the analysis. In the third section we describe the methodology of data analysis, and particularities needed to be considered when comparing VET systems internationally. On this basis we present the main results.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: INFORMATION PROCESS AND SOCIAL LEARNING

Several authors studied how teaching and learning affect development of generic and professional competencies (see Pavlin and Judge, 2010). Learning and competence development is taking place in differently formalised environments (Werquin, 2010). When we observe the learner as an agent systemised learning results in different forms of knowledge: *know-how*, *know-what*, *know-why* and *know-who* (Pavlin and Svetlik, 2005). These forms of knowledge were under various names over the last decades reflected in different approaches to studying learning. For example, cognitive approaches that focused mainly to individual and mental processes and behavioural approaches that explored more the relations between individuals, groups and their environment (e.g. Benjafield, 1993; Zimbardo, 2006). On this basis Dierkes et al. (2003) describe information-process and situation learning paradigms in the context of traditional disciplines such as are psychology, sociology or management. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) described information process learning with related term of internalisation and situation learning with socialisation. They claimed that best learning results can only be achieved and observed with both learning approaches.

Principles of information process learning approaches

Cognitive or information process approaches of learning are relevant for describing learning in formalised settings. They emerged at the beginning of 20th century focusing to mental processes of individuals which are hard to be observed directly. They found that behavioural changes are caused by learning and knowledge changes. Researchers in this paradigm particularly looked at which stimuli empower knowledge recall and behaviour, and how information can be forgotten. This approach led to a focus upon memory, perception and thinking as a consequence of processing external information, past experiences and the nature of intelligence (Anderson, 1995). Researchers in this tradition observed individuals as biological computers for processing information, considering how information from the environment is processed into individual mental schemes (Zimbardo, 2006). Davenport and Prusak (2000, 4) identified four modes how information is processed into knowledge: a) comparison of similarity of new information with the existing one; b) consequences

and implications that new information has for decision making and acting, c) relation between new information with the existing one and d) dialogue, opinion and communication on this new information with others.

Accordingly, human beings are perceived as a system that codes, stores and revitalises information and mental cognition can be viewed as a sequence of steps in which abstract entity is processed (Benjafield, 1993). The process includes various kinds of memorisation: sensor memory, short term (or working memory) and long term memory. An entry system of memory is lead by control processes that manage how information is processed through the system. Coding of information include the process of perception and interpretation needed for shaping external stimulus into cognitive images. How well is certain information or event coded and storage determines how it can be later re-called from memory and which factors will affect this process (Roediger and Guynn, 1996).

How information is recalled from memory depends on every particular individual. The information process approach studied individual differences used for learning. They discovered large differences in learning styles, abilities and approaches as well as in capacities and knowledge. Some individuals prefer making conclusions on the basis of holistic information, while others prefer details (Bors and MacLeod, 1996).

The information-process learning paradigm has been challenged on the grounds that it has become educationally less important for students to memorise large amounts of information. Due to better access to information processing technology traditional forms of learning appear to be less valuable. On the other hand, information-process learning forms or *"know-what" (and to certain extent also "know-why")*, continue to be vital elements of education and support individuals' free time activities, such as are for example health issues or active citizenship, as well as their professional work. Therefore, it would be premature to wholly remove traditional learning processes from VET.

Principles of situation learning approaches

Situation learning approaches emerged as a radical alternative for conventional cognitive approaches of knowledge and learning. Following claims of Vigotsky (1977), that learning is social activity taking place in certain cultural environment, researches of this paradigm claimed that new knowledge is situationally determined (e.g. Handley et al., 2007). Moreover, in this paradigm, learning is determined not only by cultural context but also by its environment in terms of concrete network and organisation (see Fink Hafner and Deželan, 2014). In this way, individuals learn particularly through observation and repetition (Yang, 2004). As claimed by Anderson et al. (1996, 5), the prevailing principles of situation learning are the following: a) processes are based on the concrete situation in which they occur, b) knowledge cannot easily be transferred between different working and learning contexts, c) learning that is based on abstraction has limited value, and d) learning is always placed in the complex social environments. In particular, there are large differences between learning in school and learning at work.

Lave and Wenger (1998) studied how participation in the social context impacts upon individuals' identity. In addition, participation and learning in certain social context creates social norms and behaviours (Handley et al., 2007). These norms are applied to all members of community, work-based community or networks of practice. Wenger et al. (2002) coined the term community of practice in which he points out the importance of 'knowing the praxis'. In such practices, participants learn from each other and develop common identity. Abma (2007) even stated that both terms – community and practice – can not be viewed in isolation because of their interrelated nature. Wenger claims, that community of practice is based on the processes of collective learning creating common identity.

Situation learning can also be labelled as a practical learning because new knowledge and competencies are acquired in interactions with others in concrete situations. In summary, four main premises for future research in this area (Pawlowsky, 2003, 75–81):

- *first*, it is important to study differences in various knowledge levels: individual, group, organisation and inter-organisation. In particularly, it is important to stress difference between individual and group learning, as on the individual level there is very limited potential to form identity;
- *second*, within learning on the organisation level, there are different processes as for example condensing output information, acquiring knowledge, transfer, interpretation and memorisation. One should learn how individual learning responds to these group processes;
- *third*, knowledge and learning can take different forms , e.g. cognitive, cultural and action learning;
- *fourth*, learning processes can substantially vary in their complexity, as for example described by Argyris and Schön (1978) with their concepts of single and double loop learning.

Tension and interrelation between information-process and situation learning offer an important observation point in the education environment, particularly in VET which is in its definition practically oriented. In the school environment practical learning complements theoretical learning if the practical part of curricula is transferred into a concrete environment that simulates real work. In this way we can assume that in VET both forms of learning improve acquisition of generic and professional competences. Anderson et al. (2000) claim that both approaches should not try to challenge one

another but should rather seek complementarity. Authors (*ibid.*) agree that more attention should be paid to making links between classroom learning, free time and work activities. However, many researches still favour one of the two approaches. Those who prefer information process learning tradition observe learning as an individual process in which person is responsible for own learning outcomes. On this view formal education offers superior form of learning with memorisation and reproduction of what has been learned as key processes. Other researchers, who favour a social learning approach believe that learning should take place in interpersonal relations and particular social situations, organisations should take all means necessary to cultivate community of practices with the formation of individual identity.

Implications of different theoretical approaches for VET systems

Information process approaches are more oriented towards academic or classical learning and traditional teaching approaches, and social learning more towards practical and problem based learning processes. However, the analysis above suggests that VET systems should seek to integrate both forms of learning together in order to achieve the full range of learning outcomes that are judged desirable. (CEDEFOP, 2013). The analysis that follows reveals how the neglect of one or the other form of learning may lead to incomplete outcomes.

Against the background of these two different kinds of learning process, our research set out to examine:

- Which are VET students' motives and aptitudes for school learning, and how do they acquire knowledge after school?
- How much time do they learn at school and afterwards? How do VET learners spend their free time?
- How do VET students perceive teaching modes and the work of teachers and trainers? Which are the differences between learning in the classroom and in training environments?
- How do they perceive school facilities and learning materials?
- How are learning and teaching modes related to overall satisfaction and motivation with VET curricula?
- Do VET learners start working for money already during their secondary education?

These questions generated evidence of how different teaching and learning modes impact upon VET students' school success, acquired competencies and to what extent curricula contribute to their development. Moreover, knowledge on learners experiences viewed from both learning traditions help to explain VET students' career aspirations in terms of future career orientation.

This paper addresses only some of segment of above mentioned issues. In the paper, we observe which activities supported learning in more traditional learning environments where the prevailing mode of learning is information process and also look at learning in work and during free time, where situation learning approach is more relevant. Before, setting out the survey findings we give a short overview of plurality of VET systems in Europe, which is an important contextual point for understanding learning.

METHODOLOGY AND COMPARABILITY OF VET SYSTEMS

The empirical part of this paper is based on data of the 7EU-VET project (short for "A Detailed Methodological Approach to Understanding VET Education *in Seven European Countries*"). The goal of this project's large scale survey was to explore how VET systems prepare learners for short- and long-term careers. This goal was partially based on young people's perceptions of VET systems and how they see their future possibilities of employment, career building and mobility. It incorporates the following initial questions leading the project: a) what are young people's perceptions of VET systems and how do they see their future possibilities of employment, career building and mobility?; b) how is ICT implemented in vocational education programmes?; c) how efficient and successful are systems of advising and informing?; and d) are VET systems across countries comparable and flexible enough to collectively respond to the changing needs? On this basis project aimed to develop a methodological framework for broad comparison of VET systems in different European countries: Austria, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia and the UK (England). However, this attempt is subject to several limitations that needed to be considered when comparing the results on cross-country bases. Some of the most important examples are related to differences in:

- *high and low vocational countries*: Germany, Austria and Slovenia, for example, have high proportions of cohorts taking vocational programmes at the ISCED 3 level, while proportions are low in other countries;
- *tracking*: tracking starts early in Austria and Germany – at age 10. (In Lithuania and Latvia there are vocational lower secondary programmes);
- *apprenticeships*: the dual system programmes in Germany, Austria and training provider programmes in the UK have a highly work-based component, while in other countries they are much more school-based;
- *types of programme,* which is related to the difference between duration, degree of specialisation or VET providers;
- the role of transitional programmes for young people who cannot progress directly into ISCED 3 vocational programmes;

- *diversity and accessibility of vocational institutions and diversity of vocational programmes*; and
- *permeability between VET and higher education*.

Large differences can be found also when comparing "7EU VET countries" with other EU countries. Following the Special Eurobarometer Survey the best quality learning has been perceived in countries such as Malta, Finland, Austria or Germany while low results have been found for Greece, Poland, Slovenia, Latvia or Lithuania (Special Eurobarometer 369, 2011, 33). Within the large scale survey of the 7EU VET project, the consortium surveyed roughly 17,600 VET learners. The target population of 7EU VET was defined as 17–18-year-old pupils in initial VET, as this population intersected most VET programmes in 7 EU countries. This population was found in a variety of VET institutions in the surveyed countries. Two-stage random sample design was applied to the 7EU-VET study and the survey has been done either online or with a paper-and-pencil questionnaire, instruments for both modes were developed (Dahmen, Neuert and Fuchs, 2012). Average response rates (considering school level, class level, and student level) within the range of 55 percent to 70 percent were reached in most countries (*ibid.*).

In the paper we build upon results related to VET students' motives and aptitudes for school learning, learning after school, spending their free time and working for money.

Table 1: Realised N net sample size

	Realised N net sample size
Austria	2097
Germany	5377
Greece	2396
Latvia	2926
Lithuania	2641
Slovenia	1197
England (UK)	997
Total	17631

Source: Dahmen, Neuert and Fuchs (2012, 62)

RESULTS

In this section we explore how much time VET students learn in school and at home and what are their key learning drivers. We also explore to what extent students are engaged in paid work. As described in the theoretical section we are aware that any type of social engagement is associated with different learning activities that contribute either to the development of vocational or generic competencies. As described earlier in discussion on learning approaches, school-based learning is best observed as information process learning and is associated with the process of reflection, while the process in practical learning or working is related to participation which is described as social learning.

Spending time at school and learning outside school

According to 7EU VET data, VET students in the observed countries spend in school on average 29 hours. The most time in school is spent by students in Austria, Latvia and Slovenia (an average of 34 hours) and the least in the UK (21.6 hours). Male and female students spend relatively the same amount of time in school across the 7EU-VET countries, except in Austria, where males spend more hours (37) than females, who spend only 33 hours in school. When we look at the time spent in school by parents' education, we noticed that in Latvia and Slovenia there is no association between the two. On the other hand, in Germany, Austria and Greece students with higher educated parents spend more time in school, while in Lithuania such students spend less time than students with lowly educated parents. In Lithuania and Greece, students with a higher socio-economic status[1] spend a little more time in school than those with a lower socio-economic status, while in Austria, Slovenia, Latvia and the UK students spend approximately the same amount of time in school regardless of their socio-economic status. This means that only in some studied countries more educated parents and those with a higher economic status look after their children better in terms of how they participate in the school curriculum.

Second, we looked how much time VET learners spent on learning outside school. Data show that vocational learners spend little time studying outside of school. In Slovenia, Germany and Greece, over 80 percent of students studied less than four hours per week out of school. Out-of-school study is greatest in Austria (only 60 percent studied for less than four hours) and England (71 percent). In Austria, 10 percent reported that they studied up to 12 hours and 24 percent up to eight hours. More worrying are the percentages indicating students' reports of not learning out of school at all: approximately one out of four VET students do not learn in Greece, Slovenia, Lithuania and the UK. The share of students who do not learn out of school is much lower in Austria.

1 Estimation on the socio-economic status is based on the question: »Which of the description below comes closest to how you feel about your family's income?«

Table 2: Students spending time learning outside school, by country in hours per week (in percent)

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Latvia	Lithuania	Slovenia	UK (England)
No time at all	10	20	28	12	26	25	25
Up to two hours	23	40	41	41	43	43	22
Up to four hours	26	23	13	23	18	20	23
Up to eight hours	24	12	11	14	8	8	18
Up to twelve hours	10	3	4	5	3	2	5
Up to sixteen hours	3	1	1	2	1	1	2
More than sixteen hours	2	1	1	3	1	0	3

Source: Based on the 7EU-VET project (2014-)

Out-of-school learning is strongly associated with gender: for example, in six of the seven countries males are twice as likely as females to report that they spent no time at all on study outside of school. In England, exceptionally, the relationship was reversed: 30 percent of females and 22 percent of males reported they did not study out of school at all.

Expectedly, study time outside of school is in some countries associated with school success (7EU VET team standardised nationally specific grading schemes using the "modified Bavarian formula") but unexpectedly not so much in others. Students reporting low grades also report lower study times outside of school across all countries except Germany and the UK. In some countries, for

Table 3: Students spending time learning outside school, by country and school success in hours per week (in percent)

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Latvia	Lithuania	Slovenia	UK (England)
Low grades							
No time at all	10	19	35	13	30	29	27
Up to two hours	26	41	41	43	46	46	25
Up to four hours	28	22	11	23	14	17	23
Up to eight hours	18	11	9	13	7	6	15
Up to twelve hours	13	4	3	4	2	1	5
Up to sixteen hours	3	1	1	1	1	1	2
More than sixteen hours	3	1	0	2	0	0	3
High grades							
No time at all	10	19	13	4	15	19	23
Up to two hours	21	40	39	23	39	40	20
Up to four hours	26	23	20	22	27	24	23
Up to eight hours	27	11	14	26	11	9	21
Up to twelve hours	10	4	6	11	4	4	5
Up to sixteen hours	3	2	3	5	2	3	3
More than sixteen hours	2	1	4	9	2	1	4

Source: Based on the 7EU-VET project (2014-)

example Greece, Lithuania and Latvia, the effect associated with differences in grades can be relatively large, for instance, lowly graded students were twice as likely as highly graded students to report they did not study at all outside of school.

It is not easy to explain why the relationship between time learning outside school and school grades is observed in some but not all countries. It is possible that in Germany and the UK the programmes are designed in such a manner that additional study outside of school do not contribute to learning achievement, or it is not expected VET students learn after school: in Germany much of the learning time has the character of social rather than informational whilst in the UK the culture of Further Education colleges does not, in general, support homework. Vocational courses average only 22 hours per week and students are often committed to extensive part-time employment.

Motives shaping the learning behaviour of vocational learners

In this section, we explore which factors shape the learning behaviour of vocational learners across the seven countries. Multiple motivational factors were investigated such as, for example, striving for marks (attainment), seeking to understand (intrinsic satisfaction), seeking to impress teachers, seeking to impress employers or keeping up with fellow pupils. The findings suggest that differences in motivation are associated with different countries and can be further explained by more than one possible factor, for example, the character of the institutions, their performance, and cultural norms.

As it can be seen in Table 1, students in the UK are most likely to identify particular motivations (around 70 percent), followed by Austria and Germany (around 50 percent) and with the lowest share in Slovenia (30 percent). In all countries except Lithuania top three incentives expressed by students are importance to make good impression on potential employer by achieving good grades, interest in practical subjects and importance to fully understand what they need to learn. For Lithuanian students the highest ranked incentives are interest in practical subjects, keeping up with their fellow students and importance to fully understand what they need to learn. Students in Austria, Germany, Lithuania and Slovenia least often agreed they enjoy learning, while in Greece, Latvia and the UK the least agreed on incentive was interest in general subjects.

Interest in practical subjects and understanding of learning material is for VET students also one of the most important learning incentives (intrinsic motivation). Higher achieving students reported higher levels of motivation with respect to almost all of the motivation factors, particularly related to 'striving for highest possible marks', 'a commitment to full understanding' and 'interest in general subjects'. Among socio-demographic factors, socio-economic status was found to be the most important element for study behaviour. In every country except the UK, female learners are more likely than

Table 4: Students' incentives towards learning, by countries (in percent)

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Latvia	Lithuania	Slovenia	UK (England)
I strive for the highest possible marks.	59	62	26	38	40	35	78
It is important for me to fully understand what I have to do/learn.	70	70	50	58	44	51	82
I want to make a good impression on my teachers by achieving good grades.	36	38	32	36	27	21	79
I want to make a good impression on potential employers by achieving good grades.	72	81	46	52	34	38	87
I want to keep up with my fellow pupils.	45	48	23	32	45	15	74
I enjoy learning.	10	10	27	26	23	7	69
I am interested in practical subjects.	68	68	64	64	59	58	81
I am interested in general subjects (e.g. maths, foreign language)	26	24	15	22	28	19	35

Source: Based on the 7EU-VET project (2014-)

males to strive for the highest possible marks. Similarly, learners from Austria, Germany and the UK are considerably more likely to report that it was important for them to understand what they have to learn; females in every country are more likely to report that they wanted to fully understand what they were supposed to learn. An interest in practical subjects was the most universally important motive for students from all seven countries (60–70 percent of students agreed in every country). These findings are consistent with the view that motivation is multi-dimensional and that some dimensions are associated with national conditions.

Expectedly, we can notice higher achieving students (students with high grades) report higher levels of motivation with respect to almost all of the motivation factors across all of the countries. Three types of motivation had a significant association with levels of achievement in all of the countries: 'striving for highest possible marks', 'a commitment to full understanding' and 'interest in general subjects'. Learners with an above-average socio-economic status were more likely to report that they were strongly motivated across almost all of the different dimensions of study behaviour in some but not all of the countries. Socio-economic status appears to be particularly powerful in the case of Germany and the UK, with weaker effects in Lithuania, Austria and Greece. Enjoying learning was significantly associated with socio-economic status in three countries: Germany, the UK and Lithuania. Parents' education did not indicate many important differences.

We can conclude that high levels of different kinds of motivation and high levels of achievement are closely associated, although it is difficult to draw any straightforward conclusions on causality. It is possible that some kinds of motivation cause higher achievement whilst others result from higher achievement. The relatively low levels of enjoyment that learners report is a cause for concern given that enjoyment is associated with higher achievement.

Students' time outside education

When we look how VET learners are spending their time outside of education, we see socialising is the single most popular activity: on average, 66 percent of learners spent at least two hours per day on this activity. 35 percent of learners spent at least two hours per day watching TV. 32 percent of learners spent at least two hours per day surfing the Internet (the same proportion reported spending the same time social networking and 17 percent spent this time on computer games) 24 percent of learners spent at least two hours per day exercising, with Slovenian and Latvian students exercising somewhat less than in other countries.

About 15 percent of learners spend more than two hours per day on commuting, while about 22 percent of all learners spend more than 1 hour per day caring for someone else. More time is spent on caring in Lithuania, Latvia and Greece. Reading books is a relatively unpopular activity: across the seven countries, 52 percent of learners said that spend no time at all reading books. Reading books is slightly more popular in Latvia, Greece and Lithuania.

Spending more time on reading books is associated

Table 5: Students spending time outside education (more than one hour), by country (in percent)

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Latvia	Lithuania	Slovenia
Spending time with friends or peers (e.g. socialising)	76	81	87	90	82	80
Reading books	13	15	24	20	23	13
Watching television	59	65	68	56	65	56
Exercising	43	52	49	34	53	42
Social networking	52	54	59	60	43	57
Surfing the Internet	51	52	59	51	57	53
Playing computer games	19	21	39	29	35	24
Doing voluntary work	15	15	14	13	13	14
Doing something creative	20	19	27	27	22	20
Caring for someone else	17	18	24	25	26	17
Commuting from home to school (and back)	42	42	19	41	33	36

Source: Based on the 7EU-VET project (2014-)

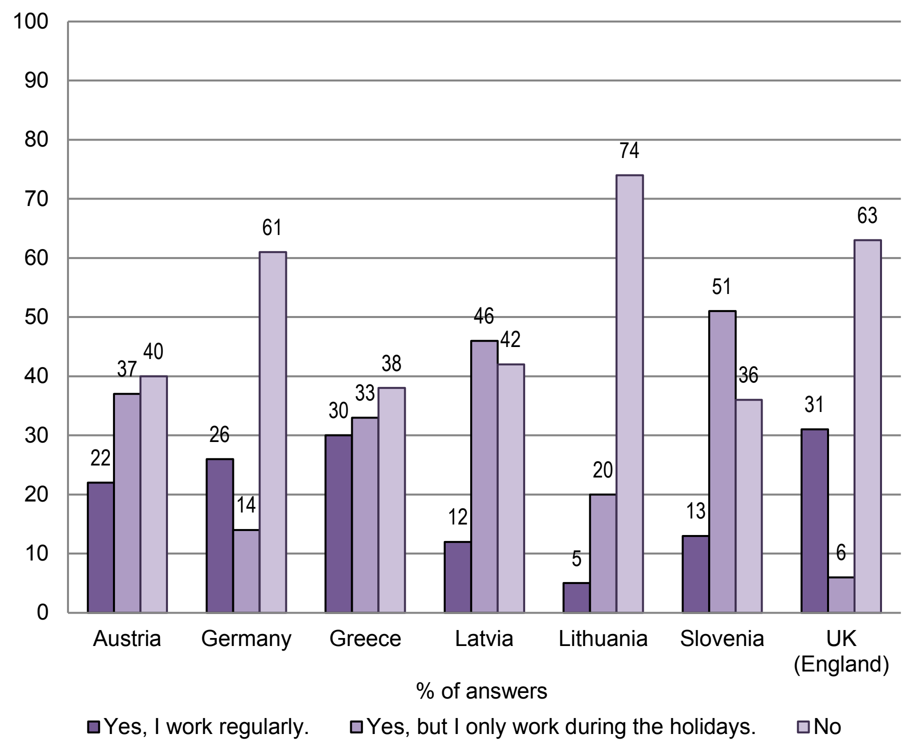
with higher grades in all countries except Germany (the question was not asked in the UK). Spending time on computer games is associated with lower grades in all countries except Greece. It is not obvious why spending time on computer games should be associated with lower grades when other leisure activities are not. This relationship merits further exploration.

Conducting paid work

On average, around 20 percent of learners from observed countries spend at least two hours a day on paid employment unrelated to their programmes, which is much more than one would expect. Time commitment to paid employment was particularly high in Greece and Lithuania and relatively lower in Austria and Germany. Students in Greece (63 percent) and Slovenia (64 percent) and Austria (59 percent) are mostly like to report they work in employment unrelated to their programmes. In Lithuania (25 percent) and the UK (37 percent), participation in this kind of employment is much less common.

The balance of work between regular work and holiday work varies: regular work is reported by 31 percent of learners in the UK, 30 percent in Greece and 26 percent in Germany. Holiday work is most popular in Slovenia (62 percent), Latvia (46 percent) and Austria (37 percent). The weekly hours of students that work regularly range from 20 in Greece to 16 in Austria – weekly working hours during the holidays are usually shorter. In Austria, Germany, Greece, Lithuania and Latvia employment is associated with gender – males are more likely to have paid employment and, in particular, more likely to work regularly (as opposed to during their holidays). This is likely to be associated with gendered expectations about lifestyle and spending but also with the socio-economic condition of the family.

It is important to stress that doing paid work unrelated to the study programme is associated with socio-economic status: those with an above-average socioeconomic status work fewer hours in all countries (except Lithuania and Greece). This may be partly a consequence of expectations and culture and partly a result of economic need. This finding is confirmed by responses that reveal that in Austria, Lithuania, Latvia and the UK students with a below-average socio-economic status are more likely to work regularly in order to earn some pocket money to help them through school. In five out of the seven countries VET pupils do work for payment: in general one out of four students' works more than 2 hours per day.



Source: Based on the 7EU-VET project (2014-)

Figure 1: Percentage of students doing paid work, by country

CONCLUSION

What are the major findings in the paper? We have found there are large differences among the countries in the time spent in school for education, e.g. 22 hours in the UK compared to 36 hours in Austria. From presented results we can see that vocational learners in Europe spend very little time studying outside of school. In Slovenia, Germany and Greece, over 80 percent of students studied out of school less than four hours per week and in general approximately one out of four VET students do not do any out of school learning in Greece, Lithuania and the UK. In six out of the seven countries, males twice as likely as girls report that they spent no time at all on study outside of school. Students reporting low grades also reported lower study times outside of school across all the countries except in Germany and England.

Interest in conventional school subjects was very low in most countries: the most important learning drivers are interest in practical subjects, understanding of the learning subject and interest in the practical subject. Very few VET students reported that they enjoy learning. However, in most countries, enjoying learning was positively associated with school success and socio-economic status. Our results show that striving for the highest possible grades or trying to impress teachers do not serve to motive the majority of learners in most countries. These findings suggest that pedagogies that make learning more enjoyable and that exploit students' interest in their vocational subjects and, in particular, in practice, are most likely to raise student motivation and hence attainment.

In most countries the majority of VET students spend most of their free time with friends, participating in social networks and watching television and relatively little time reading books: on average; only one out of ten students spent one hour or more on this activity. Reading is significantly associated with higher grades in most countries, while spending time playing computer games is significantly associated with lower grades. Approximately every second VET student exercises for at least one hour per day. More than every second VET student spends at least one hour on the Internet and differences across the countries here are very small. In this context, the question arises as to what extent schools and teachers should promote these activities, and what position they should take towards them.

VET students undertake paid work more than one would expect: on average, around one out of five learners worked for money for at least two hours per day and this work was unrelated to their programmes. Regular work was reported in most countries, with the highest percentages in England, Greece and Germany. The average weekly hours of students who worked regularly ranged from 20 in Greece to 16 in Austria – the weekly working hours during holidays were usually shorter. In general, doing paid work that is unrelated to the study programme is associated with one's socio-economic status: those with a below-average socio-economic status worked more hours in most countries. Since the respondents are aged 17 and 18 years, such strong employment engagement in all the countries raises concerns that VET students lack time for learning and exploring other areas of interest: firstly, because this work is not related to their educational programme and, secondly, because there is an indication that they do this for a living. On the other hand, it is possible that this employment may boost other skills and may support the development of networks that support entry into employment.

What recommendations for further research and policy development can be given on the findings of this paper? Even though our findings are based on nationally specific situations, which implies contextual interpretation of results, some universal observations can be drawn. Based on the findings, that VET students in all countries under observation in a very large extent do not like traditional school subjects, such as mathematics and language, the first issue for further research relates to the question how to make these subjects (regarded as key competences for lifelong learning) more attractive and of better quality. These subjects are important tools for learning during schooling and over the life course. OECD PIAAC study has demonstrated that they are associated with better outcomes in employment. Possible reforms might address either the pedagogy used to support traditional subject teaching or the methods of assessment. Attention should be given to learning out of school. Based on results in the paper, we found VET students study very little when they come home and that in most countries this is associated with lower achievement. Limited study outside of school reduces the volume of study time but it may also affect the quality, perhaps limiting the development of autonomy in learning.

Second, we believe that further exploration of the manner in which VET learners participate in the labour market is desirable. There are ethical, legal, social, educational and economic dimensions to this issue. It seems probable that there is a great deal of informal learning going on, particularly in terms of key competences and employability skills. There may be ways in which some of these activities can be recognised and validated. Further, such work experience may help to give access to networks that support entry into employment. However, the extent of this employment raises issues about the relationship between part-time work and VET: in some cases this work may undermine study; VET programmes and part-time work may have no little mutual relevance or create conflicting messages about careers and education. There are also issues about the well-being of learners about the terms and legality of their employment and about the employment strategies of their employers.

Third, VET policies should be based on understanding which the main drivers for learning are. Our results

reveal that VET learners are intrinsically motivated. They learn because they want to understand learning subject and they enjoy practical experiences. However, this is not the only driver for learning. If we focus on learning as a social process, it is striking that students, for the most part, report that they are not motivated to gain high grades in order to gain approval from their teachers and by contrast they are motivated to gain high grades in order to impress potential employers or to continue their education. It appears then that, viewed as a process of social participation, the driving forces for VET learning are the learners themselves and employers rather than the teachers. This is not to say that the teacher contribution to learning as an information process is not critical or not understood by learners. However, the relatively low rating given by students to the approval of teachers suggests that motivation might be increased by enhancing the way in which employers contribute to VET education, for example, by introducing school-based project learning which is endorsed by employers or by encouraging students to identify teachers as quasi-employers, for example, by simulating work place relationships at school.

In a nutshell, we conclude with a call for improvements in understanding relation between practical and theoretical learning. Past studies related to issues on integration of theoretical and practical learning should be extended to consider the integration of part-time employment and learning and also of learning and free-time activities. Policy could then explore how the full range of activities that young people participate in support achievement, personal and professional growth, and what activities lead to failure. It is important to understand how learning, identity and personal development take place in in-formal settings as this would help to underpin strategies to improve integration. It general, we believe that strategies for VET development – curriculum, pedagogy, institutional organisation and pathways – should be informed by a better understand of the perspective of the VET learner as an individual with a range of activities, interests and attachments rather than simply viewing learners as customers or clients for VET provision.

RAZISKOVANJE UČENJA DIJAKOV POKLICNEGA IZOBRAŽEVANJA IN USPOSABLJANJA V EVROPSKIH DRŽAVAH

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POVZETEK

Članek ugotavlja specifike učenja in dela študentov poklicnega izobraževanja in usposabljanja v sedmih evropskih državah: Avstriji, Grčiji, Litvi, Latviji, Nemčiji, Sloveniji in Združenem kraljestvu (Angliji). Glavne ugotovitve so: a) med državami obstajajo velike razlike v količini časa, ki ga dijaki preživijo v šolah, b) dijaki se izven šole izredno malo učijo, c) aspiracije po klasičnih oblikah učenja so izredno nizke, č) veliko prostega časa dijaki porabijo za pasivne oblike učenja in socializacijo, d) veliko dijakov poklicnega in strokovnega izobraževanja in usposabljanja dela za plačilo. Čeprav so ugotovitve v članku zasnovane na podlagi nacionalno specifičnih kontekstov poklicnega in strokovnega izobraževanja, smo zapisali nekaj univerzalnih ugotovitev.

Na podlagi teorij informacijsko-procesnega in situacijskega učenja članek predlaga združitev različnih kontekstov klasičnega in situacijskega učenja, kot tudi izboljšave na področju manj klasičnih učnih oblik. Vse države naj bi si v bodoče prizadevale vzpostaviti sistem klasičnega izobraževanja, ki bi bil za dijake bolj atraktiven in kakovostnejši. Splošni predmeti, kot so matematika, materni in tuji jezik, so namreč izrednega pomena za razvoj zaposlitvene kariere, pa tudi za področje aktivnega državljanstva. Razvoj kurikulov mora nujno upoštevati, kaj dijaki delajo v prostem času, in si prizadevati, da bi se po šoli več učili: pomanjkanje učenja vpliva na nizke učne dosežke. Nadaljnji razvoj sistemov naj bi s previdnostjo upošteval vključevanje dijakov na trg dela ter priznavanje in validacijo delovnih izkušenj.

Ključne besede: poklicno izobraževanje in usposabljanje, učenje, poučevanje, informacijskoprocesno učenje, situacijsko učenje

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THE HIGHER EDUCATION CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM: *AN ANALYSIS OF FIRST-CYCLE BOLOGNA STUDY PROGRAMMES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA*

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ABSTRACT

The traditional view of higher education inherently assumes that students will become critical and deliberative citizens, capable of understanding and participating in society. There is an abundance of normative considerations regarding the role of higher education in democracy and in the creation of good citizens; however, empirical scrutiny of the curriculums for citizenship education in higher education is sporadic and limited. This article attempts to fill this gap by analysing higher education curriculums in terms of content, focusing on formal, rather than non-formal or informal, curriculums. Although this approach omits certain affective-behavioural and cognitive dimensions that are at least equally important as the formal curriculum, it does reveal (a) the scope and (b) the depths of citizenship content in the higher education curriculum. By applying the framework developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement for the analysis of citizenship education, we analysed the entire set of undergraduate study programmes of the University of Ljubljana (Bologna first cycle). The analysis of 140 selected study programmes reveals (a) that disciplinarity is a strong predictor for the extent of coverage of citizenship content and (b) that the covered content is imbalanced in favour of civic society and systems, demonstrating a disregard for civic principles, civic participation and civic identities.

Key words: citizenship education, higher education, curriculum enquiry, Slovenia, making of citizens, Bologna reform, disciplinarity

EDUCAZIONE CIVICA NEL CURRICULUM DELL'ISTRUZIONE SUPERIORE: *ANALISI DEI PROGRAMMI DI STUDIO DI PRIMO LIVELLO AI SENSI DELLE DIRETTRICI DEL PROCESSO DI BOLOGNA DELL'UNIVERSITÀ DI LUBIANA*

SINETESI

Il concetto tradizionale dell'educazione civica include la convinzione che gli studenti diventeranno cittadini critici e deliberativi, che saranno in grado di comprendere i processi sociali e di parteciparvi. La letteratura è piena di pensieri normativi riguardanti il ruolo dell'istruzione superiore nella formazione di una società democratica e di buoni cittadini, sono però pochi gli studi empirici che analizzano il curriculum dell'educazione civica in questo livello d'istruzione. L'articolo cerca di colmare questo vuoto con un'analisi contenutistica dei curriculum dell'istruzione superiore e ponendo l'accento sul curriculum formale e non formale o sull'apprendimento informale. Anche se con ciò si lascia da parte la dimensione emozionale-comportamentale e quella cognitiva, che sono certamente importanti, questo approccio rivela sia l'ampiezza sia l'intensità della presenza di contenuti civici. In base al quadro di ricerca per seguire l'educazione civica di IEA (Associazione Internazionale per la Valutazione del Rendimento Scolastico) abbiamo analizzato tutti i programmi di studio di primo livello ai sensi delle direttrici del Processo di Bo-

logna, offerti dall'Università di Lubiana. L'analisi di questi 140 programmi di studio ha mostrato che la disciplinarità è un annunciatore importante di contenuti civici nei curriculum d'istruzione superiore e che il contenuto presente si basa soprattutto sul sistema e sulla comunità civica, poiché raramente entra nei campi delle norme civiche, della partecipazione civica o delle identità civiche.

Parole chiave: educazione civica, istruzione superiore, ricerca del curriculum, Slovenia, produzione di cittadini, riforma di Bologna, disciplinarità

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM ENQUIRY

Citizenship education may be understood as an institutionalised form of the acquisition of political knowledge that takes place within formal educational frameworks, such as schools and universities, as well as within informal frameworks of various associational activities (Ichilov, 2003). In its specific or diffused form, citizenship education encompasses the entire triad of learning experiences: formal, non-formal and informal. Birzea (2000) stresses that curriculum provisions for citizenship learning may take the form of formal curriculums, non-formal curriculums or informal curriculums. Formal curricular provisions involve separate or specialised courses, integrated programmes and cross-curricular themes; non-formal curricular provisions are realised through extra-curricular, co-curricular, extra-mural or other out-of-school activities organised by the educational institution and connected to the formal curriculum; and informal curricular provisions are carried out through incidental learning and a hidden curriculum.

In general, when we discuss curriculums, we must bear in mind that a curriculum is, essentially, 'the plans made for guiding learning in the schools, usually represented in retrievable documents of several levels of generality' (Glatthorn et al., 2012, 4). A curriculum, therefore, includes both the plans designed for learning and the actual learning experiences (*ibid.*, 5). It entails everything from the blending of viewpoints present in the development of the curriculum to the implementation of the programme in the learning setting, forcing administrators, teachers, students and decision-makers to act upon and react to a collection of personal understandings and perceptions of the events within the educational environment (Ennis, 1990, 79). Glatthorn et al. (2012, 12-17) proposes a model for observing a curriculum as a series of perspectives on the teaching and learning process. Their model is based on six different curriculum forms (i.e., the recommended curriculum, the written curriculum, the supported curriculum, the taught curriculum, the tested curriculum and the learned curriculum).

Compared to the curriculums of primary and secondary education, higher education curriculums have several distinct characteristics. They draw content from a vast pool of subject-specific knowledge and are constructed in formats that are well established within individual disciplines (Coate, 2009). Their syllabi are normally composed of topics grouped either chronologically or sequentially into categories; moreover, each higher education curriculum is a social force in itself and a product of the interplay of academic considerations, internal and external constraints and power relations. Despite the undeniable social significance of higher education curriculums, until recently, the process of their construction by academic institutions has remained virtually uncontested. Specifically, the state has refrained from imposing the level of control typical of that found in primary and secondary levels of education. Coate (2009, 78) stresses that state control over higher education curriculums varies according to the level of study, with postgraduate and doctoral levels being allowed the greatest freedom. The least specialised levels of curriculums have the most stable content, while specialisations within higher levels of study allow for greater freedom over curriculum design.

Higher education curriculums have been increasingly influenced by a myriad of actors with diverse interests, signifying the erosion of academic freedom to construct and implement study programmes. Coate (2009) describes the various orientations of these actors, which range from local orientations, aiming to develop and shape local concerns, to national and international orientations. National orientations usually entail aspirations related to nation-states and generally link to state- or nation-building processes (Sedmak et al., 2013, 227). In terms of international orientations, the Slovenian higher education system has been significantly influenced by its role as part of the Bologna Process, which has pushed

for increased standardisation in curriculum outputs and improved programme comparability. The effects of the eroded freedom of academics to freely construct curriculums are manifold, ranging from increased confidence and transparency, which is welcomed in times of increased massification and privatisation of higher education in some systems, to increased bureaucratisation (see the article by Pavlin et al. on hybrid roles in this issue). For example, the objective-driven construction of curriculums promoted by the Bologna Process, in addition to the increased focus on learning outcomes, tends to put more weight on directly measurable outcomes of learning, rather than on the hard-to-grasp notions of transformative curriculums, such as self-confidence, critical distance and empowerment (see Barnett and Coate, 2005). To gain a glimpse of the extent and nature of citizenship education within higher education institutions, it is, therefore, vital to observe each institution and programme individually. Our attempt to do so focuses on the recommended and written curriculums[1] of undergraduate-level programmes (first cycle Bologna) at the University of Ljubljana. Through this focus, we aim to identify the character of higher education curriculum in Slovenia from the perspective of 'making' democratic citizenry.

HIGHER EDUCATION CURRICULUMS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION RESEARCH

The characters of curriculums and, consequently, of education processes are critical factors in the development of individuals within society (Ross, 2002, 51). There are two distinct views on these processes: reflective and transformative. The former builds on Durkheim's functionalist tradition, which considers education a reflection of society—its imitation and reproduction. From this perspective, education is, in essence, a way of passing acquired knowledge and skills on to the next generation, thus ensuring the continuous self-replication of society. The transformative view, on the other hand, advocates the developmental role of education and its ability to help people overcome limitations at both the individual and the societal level (see Dewey, 1916). This view emphasises that education should not be judged only on the grounds of its returns in terms of production and training abilities, but also on the basis of its civic value for citizens and for society in general (Rawls, 1971). According to Williams (1961) and Apple (1990), by exerting control over the formulation and implementation of curriculums, political and economic structures minimise the possibility of societal and economic change and replicate existing social and economic inequalities.

Providers of higher education have traditionally assumed that, as a result of the education, students will become critical and deliberative citizens, capable of understanding and participating constructively in their society and state (Arthur and Bohlin, 2005). The university's civic role has, therefore, traditionally gone hand-in-hand with its function of producing technically skilful and capable graduates. This split role of university education has, however, become distorted, since contemporary study experiences may well pass without a thorough or planned engagement of students in questions of character, civic obligation or democratic virtue. As a result of increased curricular control and quality assurance pressures, the consequent push towards an objective-driven curriculum, the trend toward narrow specialisation and the tougher financial constraints, it is not required or even not desirable for higher education institutions to include hard-to-measure content in their curricula. As a result of this increasingly technical transformation of higher education (*ibid.*, 2), Biesta (2011, 47) calls for a shift from a knowledge economy to a knowledge democracy, thus signalling the university's vital role in contemporary society and the state.

When examining the role of the university in the 'making' of citizens, there is a strong tendency among leading researchers in the field to focus on the importance of curriculums that help to create enlightened, informed and critical citizens (see Arthur and Bohlin, 2005; Barnett, 1997; Biesta, 2011; Barnett and Coate, 2005; Rowland, 2003). Several points must be considered when examining citizenship education in higher education curriculums. As has already been noted, the examination of a curriculum is a very complex issue, since, in essence, a curriculum is a phenomenon built from an interaction of person-based beliefs, values, undertakings and experiences (Ennis, 1990). There is no core curriculum that defines students' preparation for citizenship (Arthur and Bohlin, 2005, 3), and though we have signalled the growing control of non-academic actors over higher education curriculums, these curriculums still exist predominantly in the hands of academic institutions; that is, they are not yet fully subjected to the influence of the state and para-state actors. As a consequence, the wide variety of study programmes, levels, disciplines, subject areas and curricular frameworks makes the task of defining 'the' higher education curriculum, beyond the level of syllabi or course outlines, impossible (Barnet and Coate, 2009, 78). Moreover, in comparison to school curriculums, higher education curriculums still represent an extremely under-researched area (*ibid.*).

Given that curricular information exists in the form of documents, events, behaviours, impressions and ex-

1 In line with Glatthorn et al. (2012), the recommended curriculum is suggested by academia, professional associations and policy-makers and identifies the skills and concepts that ought to be emphasised. The written curriculum, on the other hand, is designed to ensure the implementation of the educational programme and is a curriculum of control.

periences (Ennis, 1990) and that a large-scale examination of higher education curriculums is virtually unmanageable, beyond an analysis of syllabi or course outlines (Coate, 2009), the most efficient way to examine the scope and nature of citizenship education in a higher education institution is to analyse its written curriculum. This is particularly true when the units under observation are enormous institutions with several hundred study programmes. We must note, however, that, in this case, we are observing just one (well-archived) face of the higher education curriculum, rather than the entire or holistic curriculum, as suggested by Glatthorn et al. (2012). Since the written curriculum is typically a set of retrievable documents concerning the educational process and specifying five components (i.e., a general rationale; the aims, objectives, and content for achieving those objectives; the instructional methods; the learning materials and resources; and the tests or assessment methods) (see Glatthorn et al., 2012, 10), we opted for an analysis of study programme descriptions containing the syllabi of all courses taught in the programmes. This curricular document is also the main document of control, since publicly certified higher education study programmes in Slovenia are accredited on the basis of their programme descriptions by the Slovenian Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education. Given that this type of research involves, in essence, a curricular product and that it assesses the presence of content related to citizenship education in a single curricular document, this type of curricular inquiry may be considered a formal curriculum inquiry (see Harris, 1991; Short, 1991).

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As a consequence of the abovementioned idiosyncrasies of higher education curriculums, there is a lack of systematic comparative studies of citizenship education within universities' study programmes. There exist numerous normative considerations on the role of higher education in democracy and the creation of good citizens (e.g., Arthur and Biesta, 2011; Bohlin, 2005; Crick, 2000; Delanty, 2001; Dewey, 1916); however, empirical scrutiny of the citizenship education curriculum in higher education is sporadic and limited, since the majority of studies are restricted to certain aspects of curriculums within certain higher education institutions, programmes, disciplines or states (e.g., Ahier et al., 2003; McIlrath and MacLabhrainn, 2007).

The scarcity of comparative studies, which is primarily an outcome of the curriculum construction process in higher education (see Coate, 2009), does not extend to the body of research on primary and secondary education. On the contrary, scholarship on citizenship and education for these education levels has thrived in the past decade (Hahn, 2010, 5) as a result of various national and (more commonly) international initiatives that facilitated a number of recent comparative studies focusing on various aspects of intended and implemented curriculums (see Arthur et al., 2008; Banks, 2004; Georgi, 2008; Grossman and Kennedy, 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 1999). Of the truly international comparative studies, we must mention the largest and most comprehensive study on civic education to date, conducted under the umbrella of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The IEA's data-oriented studies measured, not only knowledge, but also perceptions and attitudes (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001), thus allowing for assessments across three dimensions: a content dimension, an affective-behavioural dimension and a cognitive dimension (see Schulz et al., 2008).

The content dimension proves quite useful in our examination of the University of Ljubljana's study programmes, as its extensive coverage of content allows us to map the potentially differing patterns of citizenship education covered in various content terms of the higher education curriculum. Obviously, a significant limitation arises from an exclusive focus on the content dimension of study programme descriptions; however, the conventional structure of the descriptions prohibited us from mapping the other aspects of the higher education curriculum. As a result, we adopted the four-domain content divide employed in the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS).

According to Schultz et al. (2008), the civic and citizenship content dimension consists of the following domains: 1) civic society and systems, 2) civic principles, 3) civic participation and 4) civic identities. Each of these content domains is divided into several content subdomains that precisely map the covered knowledge. In addition, supplementary key concepts facilitate a mapping of concepts and processes common to the subdomains within a given content domain, thus alleviating the dilemma regarding the classification of observed phenomena.

First, the civic society and systems domain focuses on the formal and informal mechanisms and organisations that fortify the relations between citizens and their societies, as well as the functioning of those societies. This domain is divided into three subdomains: a) citizens, b) state institutions and c) civil institutions. The foci of the citizens subdomain are the relationship between individuals or groups of individuals and their societies, the primarily assigned and desired roles, the rights and responsibilities within society and the opportunities and abilities to support society's development (see, for example, Filipovič Hrast et al., 2012). The state institutions subdomain concentrates on institutions central to the processes of government and public policymaking (e.g., legislative bodies, governments at various levels, supranational/intergovernmental bodies, judiciaries, law enforcement, defence forces, civil services and electoral commissions). Finally, the civil institutions subdomain focuses on institutions that act as mediators between

state institutions and citizens. Among these types of institutions, we generally include: religious institutions, trade unions, political parties, non-governmental organisations, pressure groups, mass media, educational institutions and other interest organisations.

The second content domain—civic principles—refers to the shared ethical foundations of society and chiefly examines the support, protection and promotion of these foundations as civic responsibilities and motivations for participation. This domain is divided into three subdomains: a) equity, b) freedom and c) social cohesion. The equity subdomain focuses on the principle of fair and just treatment of all members of society, which transcends individual communities and derives from the notion of equality in dignity and rights. The freedom subdomain focuses on freedoms *of* (e.g., speech, belief) and *from* (e.g., in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and puts forward the responsibility of citizens to protect these freedoms within and beyond their communities. The social cohesion subdomain encompasses the belonging, sense of connectedness and common vision of both individuals and communities within a society.

Civic participation, as the third content domain, concentrates on the nature of the processes and practices that determine citizens' participation. This domain deals with manifestations of citizens' actions, which can range from awareness through engagement to influence. Civic participation is divided into the subdomains of: a) decision-making, b) influencing and c) community participation. The decision-making subdomain focuses on active participation that directly results in the implementation of policies or practices and conventionally takes the form of taking part in organisational governance or voting. Influencing refers to informing and affecting the policies, practices and attitudes of others or of other groups, and it generally takes the form of engagement in public debates, demonstrations, policy development, the development of proposals, advocacy actions, ethical consumerism, corruption awareness actions, etc. The community participation subdomain includes participation in communities for the benefit of those communities, and it encompasses volunteering, participation in various forms of civil society organisations and staying up-to-date with relevant political and societal information.

The fourth content domain—civic identities—denotes an individual's sense of being as an agent of civic action, including his civic roles and his perceptions of those roles. Since an individual's civic identity is connected to a variety of personal and civic relationships, this content domain postulates the existence of a multi- rather than a single-faceted civic identity, and it is composed of two subdomains: a) civic self-image and b) civic connectedness. Civic self-image encompasses an individual's civic roles and values, as well as his understanding of, attitude towards and management of these roles and values. Civic connectedness, on the other hand, focuses on an individual's sense of connection to his various communities and civic roles. It also includes a belief in and tolerance[2] of diversity within and outside a community and an understanding of the effects of the different values and belief systems of communities on the members of those communities. For a detailed account of the presented content framework, please see Schultz et al. (2008).

METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Throughout their existence, universities have played a very important and multifaceted role in Slovenian society. Under the former Yugoslav regime, with its imperative of building a socialist society, universities faced immense pressure in terms of their designated participation in the construction of the economic, education and cultural system (Modic, 1969, 8). The period following Slovenia's independence (1991) marked an era of realignment of the university's role in Slovenian society, with the abolishment of state control over universities and of socialist pressures of indoctrination. Debates that had begun in the late 1980s and were already being championed by key intellectuals and universities themselves resulted in a normative framework that led to the autonomy of universities and other higher education institutions. Accordingly, universities came to be perceived as agents for the service of all society and enjoyed higher levels of trust (see Haček and Brezovšek, 2014). However, one crucial moment, in particular, seems to have fundamentally redefined the higher education system and revised the role of universities in contemporary Slovenian society: the Bologna reform. Zgaga (2009) stresses the importance of the Bologna reform in terms of citizenship education, since the Bologna model seems to shape universities based more on the requirements of the market economy than on personal development or the preparation of students for life as active citizens in democratic society. We can thus say that, as a result of the Bologna reform, a political decision induced by globalisation and Europeanisation, Slovenian higher education became increasingly dependent on market forces (see, for example, Zgaga, 2009, 184; Pavlin, 2014; Pavlin et al., 2013).

The case selected—the University of Ljubljana—explores a university tradition that dates back to 1919. The University of Ljubljana enrols more than 50,000 students, making it one of the largest universities in Europe, with over 300 undergraduate and postgraduate study programmes (UL, 2013). Our examination of publicly available information from the faculties' and

2 For an extensive overview of the anatomy of toleration see Sardoč (2013).

academies' websites showed that the University offers exactly 423 tertiary education programmes, with staff numbers amounting to approximately 6,000 individuals across 23 faculties and three arts academies. The selection of study programmes to be analysed consisted of the entire set of University of Ljubljana undergraduate programmes (Bologna first cycle) accredited by the Slovenian Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education and offered in the 2013/2014 academic year. A total of 140 first-cycle (level) Bologna study programme descriptions were analysed according to the presented research framework.

To uncover and systematically analyse this set of unstructured data, the selected programme descriptions were manually coded in keeping with the adopted research framework using version 7.1.3 of the Atlas.ti software package. Accordingly, every reference to any of the concepts covered by the four civic and citizenship content domains in the analysed study programmes was coded as a presence. Since we also aimed to measure the intensity of the concepts present, we allowed for the possibility of multiple instances of a single code within one study programme, as long as two of the same codes did not appear within the same course syllabus. As a result, we were able to identify both the extensiveness and the intensity of the four content domains within the examined programmes.

CITIZENSHIP IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA'S CURRICULUM

The 140 selected and analysed study programmes offered by the University of Ljubljana in the 2013/2014 academic year are distributed across 23 member faculties and three arts academies. On average, each member of the University offers more than five undergraduate Bologna study programmes (although the range between the faculties with the highest and lowest numbers of study programmes is quite large). For example, the Faculty of Arts offers 46 undergraduate study programmes, whereas several faculties offer only one.

Comparison between programmes and faculties

Since members of the University of Ljubljana (i.e., its faculties and academies) concentrate on scientific and pedagogical areas of one or several related scientific or artistic disciplines (Higher Education Act, Article 4), a breakdown of the results according to individual member appears to be the most natural. In addition, member faculties and academies also enjoy a comparatively high level of autonomy from the University, making this approach even more appropriate.

Upon initial observation of the acquired results, several patterns may be discerned in terms of the general coverage of the four civic and citizenship content domains by the examined study programmes. First, there are clearly several frontrunners, offering study programmes that cover the four civic and citizenship content domains extensively. The first two are programmes of the Faculty of Law and the Academy of Music; these are followed by programmes of the Faculty of Administration, the Faculty of Economics and the Faculty of Social Work (see Figure 1). Three of these—the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Economics and the Faculty of Administration programs, which tend to deal with the state's production and regulation capacities—have an asymmetric distribution of coverage in favour of the civic society and systems domain, while the study programmes of the Academy of Music and the Faculty of Social Work reveal a more balanced distribution of codes across the four observed domains. Second, in accordance with their general disciplinary orientations, a number of faculties cover civil and citizenship content only marginally. These faculties are from the disciplinary areas of the natural sciences and science-based professions (see Becher, 1994) (see Figure 1). Considering their disciplinary orientations, the position of these faculties as among the lowest in terms of coverage of civic and citizenship content is not surprising, since, epistemologically speaking, these disciplines are devoted to either a linear/hierarchical, atomistic and cumulative curriculum or a sequential and applied curriculum (Neumann, 2009, 497). Third, the positions of certain member faculties and academies are not in line with their anticipated positions, according to their disciplinary backgrounds. To begin with, the study programmes of the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Education are ranked comparatively low and do not fulfil expectations related to the proximity of the liberal arts programme. Yet, it should be mentioned that the variety within the 46 undergraduate study programmes of the Faculty of Arts is extensive—from Comparative Linguistics, with the lowest score, to Sociology, which is ranked among the top 25 programmes in this case. In contrast, the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, with its two study programmes, covers civic and citizenship content relatively extensively, particularly when compared to those University members that do not have social science or humanities backgrounds. This is primarily a result of the Design Engineering programme and its nurturing of topics related to sustainability.

When observing the 'civic society and systems' content domain, which was the most commonly dominant content domain across all of the study programmes, we find the same frontrunners, with the exception of the Faculty of Social Work. However, the composition of this domain varies significantly among the frontrunners—as, in fact, it does across all of the university members we examined. For example, the Faculty of Law's programme includes no reference to the citizens content subdomain and little reference to the civil institutions subdomain; however, it is pervaded with references to state institutions and, particularly, to the key concepts of

	Total	Civic society and systems	Civic principles	Civic participation	Civic identities
Faculty of law	146,00	129,00	6,00	5,00	6,00
Academy of music	122,50	48,50	16,50	16,00	41,50
Faculty of administration	102,00	99,00	1,00	0,50	1,50
Faculty of economics	82,75	70,83	2,50	8,17	1,25
Faculty of social work	70,00	12,00	20,00	26,00	12,00
Faculty of social sciences	34,08	27,33	1,08	2,17	3,50
Faculty of mechanical engineering	29,00	18,00	0,50	7,50	3,00
Biotechnical faculty	18,22	17,22	0,00	0,22	0,78
Faculty of education	14,13	2,00	1,63	3,25	7,25
Faculty of theology	14,00	8,00	0,00	1,00	5,00
Academy of theatre, film, radio and television	13,75	3,00	0,75	5,00	5,00
Faculty of architecture	13,00	12,50	0,00	0,00	0,50
Faculty of natural sciences and engineering	12,67	7,67	0,00	3,67	1,33

	Total	Civic society and systems	Civic principles	Civic participation	Civic identities
Faculty of arts	11,70	3,65	0,46	1,80	5,78
Faculty of electrical engineering	11,00	9,00	0,00	1,00	1,00
Faculty of mathematics and physics	10,60	5,00	0,00	4,20	1,40
Faculty of maritime studies and transport	10,00	7,00	0,00	1,00	2,00
Faculty of civil engineering and geodesy	7,75	4,75	0,00	1,75	1,25
Faculty of sport	6,50	2,50	1,00	0,75	2,25
Academy of fine arts and design	6,20	2,60	0,00	1,80	1,80
Faculty of chemistry and chemical technology	6,00	3,40	0,00	1,60	1,00
Faculty of health sciences	6,00	4,00	0,00	1,00	1,00
Faculty of medicine	5,00	1,00	0,00	1,50	2,50
Veterinary faculty	4,00	0,00	0,00	1,00	3,00
Faculty of computer and information science	3,50	1,50	0,00	1,00	1,00
Faculty of pharmacy	3,50	1,50	0,00	1,50	0,50

Figure 1: Coverage by University of Ljubljana members of the four civic and citizenship content domains in their undergraduate study programmes (per programme offered)

that domain (e.g., Constitution, democracy, rules/laws, the economy, treaties, etc.). In contrast, the Academy of Music's programmes thrive in terms of the civil institutions content subdomain, but contain few or no references to the citizens and state institutions subdomains. The Faculty of Social Sciences' programmes, which cover civic and citizenship content to a lesser degree, reflect the most balanced overall coverage of the subdomains and their key concepts. In terms of programmes that refer to the observed content the least, we again find the same faculties and repeat the same disciplinarity rationales as we did above. What is striking is that several university members from the humanities and social sciences are ranked surprisingly low. This is the case for the Academy for Theatre, Film, Radio and Television and for the Academy of Fine Arts and Design. However, it is also true for the Faculty of Education, which has the most significant impact on the entire education system through its 'production' of teachers for primary and secondary educational levels, as well as for school subjects related to citizenship education. The virtual absence of references to citizens and state institutions in these programmes may be characterised as alarming from the citizenship education viewpoint and is in line with concerns expressed by the 2012 Eurydice study (EC, 2012).

In the case of the 'civic principles' content domain, an entirely different picture emerges. First, there is generally much lower coverage of civic principles across the entire list of study programmes and, consequently, the observed university members. As a result, several institutions offer programme(s) that do not explicitly refer to concepts related to civic principles. To be precise, 14 fall into this category, most representing the natural sciences, engineering and technology, or medical and health sciences. The highest ranked are the Faculty of Social Work and the Academy of Music, which were also frontrunners in the previously examined domain of civic society and systems. The only university member from outside the field of humanities and social sciences whose study programmes reflect coverage of civic principles is the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, which includes a reference to equity. Social science faculties (i.e., Faculty of Law, Faculty of Economics and Faculty of Administration) ranked very highly in terms of their

overall coverage of the content domains, as well as of the civic society and systems domain; however, in the case of the civic principles content domain, they reflected a very moderate degree of domain coverage. In addition, in all three cases, their curriculums referred only to the 'freedom' subdomain, thus indicating the primarily liberal orientation of those references to freedom *of* and freedom *from* (i.e., the liberal tradition of citizenship).

When we look at the third content domain—'civic participation'—the ranks are very similar to those of the civic principles domain. Again, the programmes of the Faculty of Social Work and the Academy of Music are the strongest in terms of the content domain, which is referred to only modestly in other study programmes. Both excel in civic participation, due to their frequent references to key concepts—particularly that of cooperation/collaboration, which refers to the beneficial effects of citizens acting together in pursuit of a community's common goals. Likewise, the two university members following the two top ranked ones are the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Economics, which, in addition to referencing the key concepts (i.e., negotiation in the case of the Faculty of Law and cooperation/collaboration in the case of the Faculty of Economics), also refer to the concept of negotiation as a peaceful mode for the resolution of differences essential to community wellbeing. On the other hand, the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering is again ranked surprisingly high, with a comparatively high number of references to collaboration and cooperation as concepts indicating the civic participation content domain. The same holds true for the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics, as well as for the Academy of Theatre, Film, Radio and Television.

The fourth content domain of 'civic identities' reflects an entirely different pattern than those portrayed by the other three domains. First, only one university member—the Academy of Music—covers the topics related to civic identities in any significant way. To be precise, the Academy of Music's study programmes include many references to the concept of self-image and, to a lesser degree, to the concept of civic connectedness. Significant references to individuals' experiences, understandings and attitudes related to their civic and citizenship values and roles (i.e., their civic self-images) are also made in the Faculty of Social Work's study programme, which is the second-highest in the ranking. These two are followed by a number of social science and humanities faculties, all of which moderately cover the domain of civic identities. The other faculties only sparingly refer to concepts within the domain, indicating that citizenship as a civic identity is, surprisingly, not well represented in the University of Ljubljana's higher education curriculum.

When we examine the levels of the individual study programmes offered by the University of Ljubljana, the emerging picture is more or less replicated. Of the top 20 undergraduate Bologna study programmes, no fewer than 18 derive from the area of the social sciences, while the remaining 2 derive from the arts and humanities. The first two out of best 20—Administration and Law—focus on law, legality and the state, making them prime examples of coverage of the civic components of citizenship. Barring the musical arts, music education, social work and political science programmes, all others in the top 20 derive from economics, offering another 'face' of the civic society and systems content domain. As put forward by the Crick report, economics programmes cover knowledge and understanding of the economy (public and personal), including issues related to public services, taxation, public expenditure and employment, and provide an important context for understanding key aspects of society. Moreover, the political science, economics and legal and administration programmes virtually all target the knowledge and understanding aspect of citizenship education, which is primarily concerned with the abovementioned economic aspects of society, as well as society's political aspects, including issues related to government, law and the Constitution. The three exceptions to this rule (i.e., musical arts, music education and social work) target other aspects of society (i.e., social and moral) to a greater extent and go beyond the conventional political literacy strand of citizenship education to cover social and moral responsibility and community involvement (*ibid*., 40).

The overall rankings of the Bologna undergraduate study programmes reveal, therefore, one anticipated but still very important fact: that certain disciplines—or, more specifically, certain fields of science within higher education—nurture civic and citizenship content to a much higher degree. In order to substantiate and develop this claim, we engaged in a disciplinary overview of the examined study programmes, which we present in the next section.

Disciplinary view

The flow of knowledge from higher education to the world of work can be viewed as future professionals' preparation for understanding new situations, recognising the relevancy of different areas of knowledge to particular situations, focusing precisely on the knowledge needed for a particular decision or action, and having the capacity to transform previously acquired explicit knowledge to suit new situations prior to or during performance (Eraut, 2006, 49). One of our key questions, therefore, relates to the extent to which curriculums should be structured by scientific disciplines or professional areas: that is, whether higher education should focus on professional domains or try to shape students' personalities (Teichler, 1996, 155). Disciplines, as bundles of knowledge (see Clark, 1983), represent one of the most important determinants of higher education curriculums, since they embody different knowledge forms and reflect both epistemological approaches and the

social aspects of knowledge communities (Neumann, 2009, 487). As associations among knowledge, learning and instruction within organisations, disciplines form the most important basis for academic organisations, hence making disciplinarity and disciplinary categorisations very useful for making meaningful comparisons across disciplines (Neumann, 2009, 493). Deliberations on disciplines sometimes appear to be centred on epistemological considerations, such as concepts, aims and methods (see Toulmin, 1972), or on the idea of social groupings (see Whitley, 1984). However, Becher (1994, 152) claims that substantive content cannot be artificially separated from social behaviour. Disciplinarity, therefore, inherently combines the epistemological and social and, in essence, involves three important strands: the nature and structure of knowledge, organisational structures within universities to accommodate disciplines, and the role of disciplines in teaching and research (Neumann, 2009, 493).

In autonomous studies, Biglan (1973) and Kolb (1984) (the former focusing on the nature of the subject matter of research, and the latter focusing on styles of intellectual enquiry) almost homogeneously discern four main intellectual clusters—or, in Becher's terms, 'academic tribes'—of academic disciplines and professional fields. These can be used to distinguish separate disciplines and professional groupings (Becher, 1994: 152). Biglan (1973) labels the clusters as hard pure, hard applied, soft pure and soft applied; Kolb (1984), in contrast, describes them as abstract reflective, concrete reflective, abstract active and concrete active. These groupings match the educational groupings of the natural sciences and mathematics (hard pure; e.g., physics, chemistry), the humanities and social sciences (soft pure; e.g., history, anthropology, political science), the science-based professions (hard applied; e.g., engineering, agriculture) and the social professions (soft applied; e.g., education, law, management studies)(see Becher, 1994: 152). As universities educate and induce students into a subject-matter way of thinking and style of enquiry, each discipline provides students with its own cognitive map for discovering, understanding and discussing knowledge (Neumann, 2009, 497).

As in the case of the structure of knowledge and organisations, the disciplinary effect on teaching and learning is significant. Neumann (*ibid.*) stresses that socialisation into a discipline (and, to a lesser degree, into an institution) is particularly intense at the graduate level, making disciplinary classification particularly relevant to our analysis of study programmes. As a result, we classified selected study programmes in accordance with Biglan/Becher's hard soft, pure applied typology, which seems to be dominant in the sociology of knowledge and science with regard to the analysis of disciplines (see Becher, 1994; Biglan, 1973; Kolb, 1984; Neumann, 2009; etc.).

When analysing the ordered study programmes, coded to the four clusters of disciplines, or 'academic tribes' (Becher, 1989), we may discern several straightforward trends. First, the soft pure and soft applied

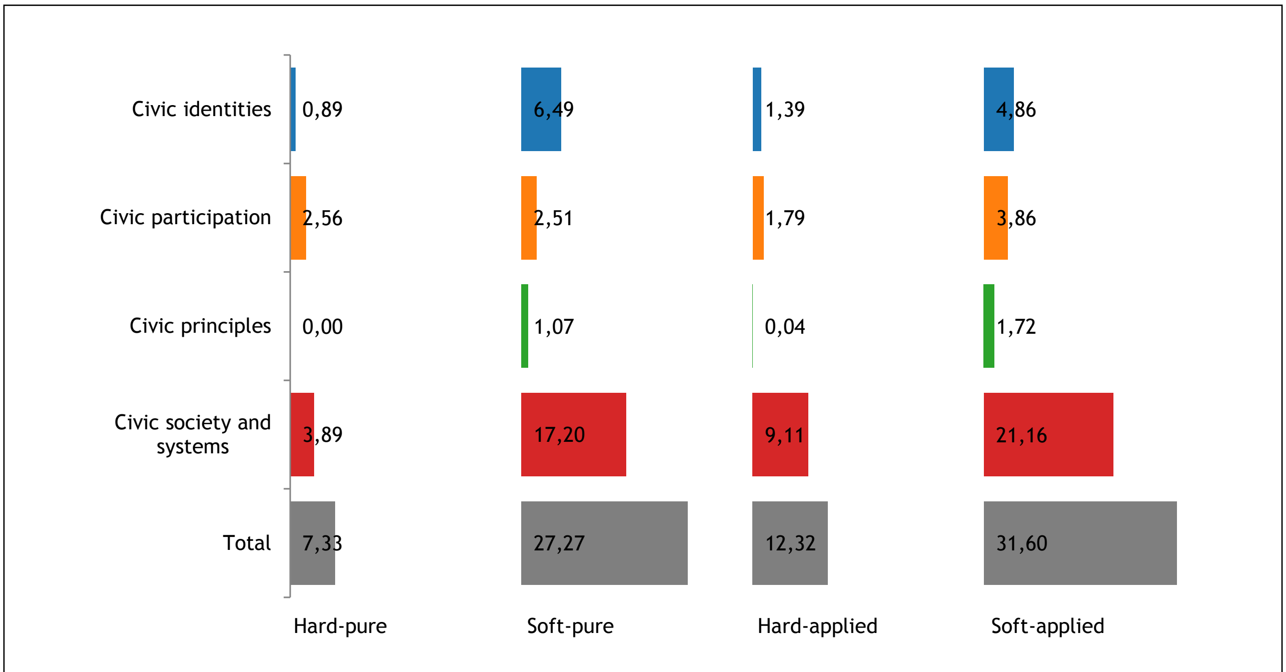


Figure 2: Coverage of the civic and citizenship content domains by University of Ljubljana undergraduate study programmes, according to the Biglan/Becher classification of disciplines (per programme offered)

clusters of disciplines reflect considerably higher levels of the civic and citizenship content domain, indicating the relevance of pure-applied divide (see Figure 2). Namely, the stronger consensus in terms of the hard sciences in this case reflects a consensus regarding the absence of civic and citizenship content and its related inquiry paradigm (see Biglan, 1973). On the other hand, Kolb's (1984) distinction also holds true, since the concrete (soft) disciplines tend to be more motivated and involved in new experiences. This is certainly the case with regard to the rationale of 'making' citizens, which is far more common in the soft disciplines. The main difference between study programmes in terms of the hard-soft divide originates from higher levels of coverage of civic society and systems content and of civic identities content, showing that hard disciplines struggle to 'keep up' in terms of political literacy and civic identity (i.e., a sense of social and moral responsibility). Civic principles, including equity, freedom, and social cohesion, are, on the other hand, very marginally covered across the spectrum, and are covered to a somewhat greater degree only by soft applied disciplines (primarily law and social work). Overall, the hard pure and soft applied disciplines met both the worst and best anticipations with regard to their coverage of civic and citizenship content, since the former cluster focuses on creating theories to explain observations, while the latter is involved in new experiences and the use of theories to solve problems and make decisions (see Kolb, 1984).

A closer look at the first content domain—civic society and systems—reveals patterns similar to those described in the overall coverage of the four examined domains. To be precise, the soft disciplines again prove more likely to include citizenship content in their curriculums. In addition, applied disciplines, whether hard or soft, also tend to cover the citizenship content domain more extensively, although certain differences in their coverage of the subdomains and key concepts should be stressed. First, despite the fact that the identified key concepts represent the dominant mode of coverage in all four clusters of the analysed study programmes, a particularly high share of identified content was present in cases of hard pure, hard applied and soft applied disciplines. The soft pure cluster, in contrast, paints a different picture, since references to state and civil institutions are equally present. When examining the dominant concepts within this domain, we note that soft applied disciplines concentrate on economy, rules and laws—concepts tied closely to economists, lawyers and administrators—while soft pure disciplines, apart from economics, focus on globalisation and democracy. The hard disciplines, in contrast, were more likely to extensively cover the economy and sustainable development, with the latter representing a unique feature of the hard disciplines.

An examination of the second content domain—civic principles—accentuates the hard disciplines' limited coverage of civic and citizenship content. In fact, neither the hard pure nor hard applied clusters of disciplines offered a significant degree of content related to civic principles in the curriculums under scrutiny. On the other hand, while soft clusters of disciplines offer considerably higher degrees of civic principles content, this is still negligible compared to their coverage of the civic society and systems domain. Disregarding the low overall level of civic principles coverage, it appears that the soft applied disciplines tend to cover more of the domain's content in their curriculums, primarily through the concepts of freedom promoted by economics and law curriculums and the concept of social cohesion promoted by the curriculum for future social workers.

The civic participation content domain presents a somewhat different image. In general, we observe quite similar (low) levels of coverage for all four clusters of disciplines, with the hard applied disciplines involving slightly more modest coverage and the soft applied disciplines involving more extensive coverage. In addition, the soft disciplines reflect higher levels of the concepts related to influencing and community participation. Moreover, the dominant contents covered are the key concepts for this domain, including the omnipresent concept of collaboration/cooperation. This concept presupposes common actions in pursuit of the fulfilment of community goals. Further, the soft pure and soft applied clusters of disciplines also cover negotiation and self-efficacy within the key concepts, leading to a far greater variety within the soft disciplines in terms of third content domain coverage and, at the same time, confirming the tendency of a shared inquiry paradigm (see Biglan, 1973).

In the case of the civic identities content domain, a significant discrepancy in the coverage of civic and citizenship content in favour of the soft disciplines is, again, clear. This time, the coverage is more extensive in the case of the soft pure, rather than the soft applied, disciplines; however, this can be explained by identity's role as more of a reflective issue than an issue endogenous to active intervention. To be precise, the coverage in favour of soft pure disciplines is an outcome of the greater number of references to civic connectedness: the sense of connection to different civic communities.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude that our acquired results generally confirm our initial expectations. First, the soft disciplines did prove to include more civic and citizenship content in their study curriculums, and the applied disciplines did prevail over pure ones in terms of greater community involvement and civic participation. It is primarily the curriculums for 'making' social professionals that covered the most content: economics curriculums, in terms of economy and freedom; legal and administration curriculums, in terms of rules, laws and state institutions; and social work curriculums, in terms of civic

identities and civic principles. With regard to the hard disciplines, programmes for 'making' science-based professionals reflected higher levels of civic and citizenship content than pure programmes, which focused more on reflection than on active experimentation and involvement (see Kolb, 1984).

In terms of the civic and citizenship domains covered in the examined study programmes, there is a clear discrepancy in favour of civic society and systems, particularly with regard to state institutions and key concepts related to law and the economy. In contrast, citizens' roles, rights and responsibilities and civil institutions were primarily lacking in the written curriculum. This sort of disregard for civic principles, civic participation and civic identities clearly shows that the examined study programmes reflect, at best, curriculums for education about citizenship. That is, they focus narrowly on providing sufficient knowledge and understanding of the structures and processes of government and political life, but fail in the sense of educating through citizenship or for citizenship, since they give students no chance to learn by practicing the role of citizens or by engaging in active and sensible participation in the roles and responsibilities they will encounter in their lives as adult citizens (see Schulz et al., 2008). The overall impression of this study is that citizenship education is, to a large extent, a coincidental feature of Slovenia's higher education curriculum. At best, to use Ross' (2002) terminology, we can say that some level of content-driven citizenship education is present in the curriculum and that a minimal number of objectives are focused on citizenship and on the processes beneficial to the creation of good and responsible citizens. To speak in terms of the reflective versus transformative divide, we may conclude that the character of the Slovenian higher education curriculum for the creation of a democratic citizenry, if it exists at all, is highly reflective and rests upon knowledge of the functioning of the polity and its key societal subsystems.

DRŽAVLJANSKA VZGOJA V VISOKOŠOLSKEM KURIKULU: *ANALIZA PRVOSTOPENJSKIH BOLONJSKIH ŠTUDIJSKIH PROGRAMOV UNIVERZE V LJUBLJANI*

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POVZETEK

Tradicionalnemu pogledu na državljansko vzgojo je inherentno prepričanje, da bodo študenti postali kritični in deliberativni državljani, ki bodo sposobni razumevanja družbenih procesov, kakor tudi participacije v njih. V literaturi je normativnih razmišljanj o vlogi visokega šolstva pri ustvarjanju demokratične družbe in dobrih državljanov na pretek, ni pa mnogo empiričnih študij, ki bi analizirale kurikul državljanske vzgoje na tej ravni izobraževanja. Članek skuša zapolniti omenjeno vrzel z vsebinsko analizo visokošolskih kurikulov ter s poudarkom na formalnem in neneformalnem kurilulu ali priložnostnem učenju. Čeprav se s tem izpuščata emocionalno-vedenjska ter kognitivna dimenzija, ki sta enako pomembni, pa ta pristop razkriva tako širino kot intenzivnost prisotnosti državljanskih vsebin. Na podlagi raziskovalnega okvira za spremljanje državljanske vzgoje Mednarodne asociacije za evalvacijo izobraževalnih dosežkov (IEA) smo analizirali vse bolonjske študijske programe prve stopnje, ki jih ponuja Univerza v Ljubljani. Analiza teh 140 študijskih programov je pokazala, da je disciplinarnost močan napovedovalec prisotnosti državljanskih vsebin v visokošolskih kurikulih ter da je prisotna vsebina osredotočena predvsem na državljansko skupnost in sistem, saj le redko posega na polja državljanskih načel, državljanske participacije ali državljanskih identitet.

Ključne besede: državljanska vzgoja, visokošolsko izobraževanje, raziskovanje kurikula, Slovenija, proizvajanje državljanov, bolonjska reforma, disciplinarnost

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SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION: CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA AND TOKYO METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Modern society is occupied with the problem of decreasing civic engagement—an important civic virtue. In this context, higher educational institutions are important settings where participation can be learned and fostered. This article seeks to emphasize the importance of spatial organisation in higher education institutions in influencing youth participation. Namely, spatial organisation can foster or hinder civic virtues, such as civic participation and interpersonal trust. In an explorative case study of two universities, the University of Ljubljana and Tokyo Metropolitan University, we wish to illustrate the importance of place in stimulating participation. In our analysis of examples of spatial organisation from the two universities, we pay special attention to the following elements: physical organisation (e.g., building design, design of public spaces) and social/functional organisation (e.g., commercial facilities, recreational facilities). The result is a set of spatial maps indicating the frequency and nature of the use of (public) spaces. To conclude, we discuss spatial characteristics in the context of the increasing consumerism and privatisation of (public) spaces within universities.

Key words: participation, young, public space, University of Ljubljana, Tokyo Metropolitan University, higher education, consumerism

INFLUSSO DELL'ORGANIZZAZIONE DELLO SPAZIO SULLA PARTECIPAZIONE DEI GIOVANI: GLI ESEMPI DELL'UNIVERSITÀ DI LUBIANA E DELL'UNIVERSITÀ METROPOLITANA DI TOKIO

SINTESI

Una delle domande cruciali nella società moderna riguarda il problema della diminuzione della partecipazione civica e della partecipazione degli individui, soprattutto dei giovani. Le università sono istituzioni sociali importanti, nell'ambito delle quali gli individui possono studiare e vivere i valori civici, tra i quali c'è anche la partecipazione. Nell'articolo ci occupiamo della questione legata all'organizzazione dello spazio delle università come fattore importante che può influire sulla partecipazione dei giovani. L'organizzazione dello spazio, infatti, può aumentare o ostacolare i valori civici, quali la partecipazione e la fiducia tra le persone. Nell'articolo presentiamo la ricerca esplorativa di due studi di fattispecie, ovvero l'Università di Lubiana e l'Università di Tokio, con i quali vogliamo presentare l'importanza dello spazio per la partecipazione dei giovani. Abbiamo analizzato l'organizzazione dello spazio di ambedue le università, focalizzandoci soprattutto sull'organizzazione fisica e funzionale/sociale dello spazio. Il risultato sono mappe che mostrano la natura e la frequenza dell'utilizzo di spazi pubblici. Nel dibattito tocchiamo anche la presenza dei trend di consumo e della privatizzazione degli spazi pubblici nell'ambito delle università e riflettiamo sulle loro conseguenze per la partecipazione dei giovani.

Parole chiave: partecipazione, giovani, spazio pubblico, università, istruzione

INTRODUCTION

Modern society is occupied with the problem of decreasing civic engagement—an important civic virtue. Especially influential in this field has been Putnam's (2000) thesis of civic disengagement and diminishing community activities. In recent years, there seems to have been a general decline in political participation, which is especially evident among young people (see Deželan and Kustec Lipicer, 2014). Additionally, in some countries, the democratic culture of participation seems to be less developed. Central and Eastern European countries are often labelled as having poorer democratic virtues (see Deželan, 2012), lower trust and lower citizen participation (Badescu and Uslaner, 2003). These trends appear to be true, not only at the national level, but also at the local community level (see Dekker and Van Kempen, 2008; Deželan et al., 2014).

One of the important functions of the educational process is to provide the necessary tools for citizens to perform their roles in a competent manner. In this context, universities play a particularly vital role in the political socialisation and shaping of virtuous citizens (Pavlin et al., 2013). The influence of universities is linked, not only to university curricula and the effect of achieving higher education, but also to participation in the 'university community' itself (Deželan and Maksuti, 2014). Participation in a university community can socialize individuals to become politically engaged, as well as provide them the skills to function as part of the public (Glaston, 2001, in Pavlin et al., 2013, 14).

Universities serve as sites for political and democratic action and participation, which can be influenced also by the spatial organisation of universities. As community and neighbourhood research has clearly indicated, spatial organisation and spatial characteristics significantly influence the participation of community members in community activities and local organizations (Kim and Kaplan, 2004; Pendola and Gen, 2008; Youngentob and Hostleter, 2005).

In this article, we discuss the impact of the physical and social aspects of universities on their potential to foster the participative behaviour of students. Public spaces today face several negative trends, such as privatization, regulation and consumerism (see Ryan, 2011; White, 2001); thus, we observe how these trends are visible in the context of higher education institutions. The research questions that we seek to answer are whether universities are spatially organised in a way that may stimulate youth participation and whether there exists, within universities' (public) spaces, a trend toward privatization, consumerism or regulation. To accomplish this goal, we present an explorative descriptive analysis of two case study universities: the University of Ljubljana and Tokyo Metropolitan University. In the discussion, we link the spatial organisation of universities to the trends of privatization and marketisation of higher education and discuss implications for participation and community involvement.

PARTICIPATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Participation and civic engagement form a significant portion of the notion of good citizenship. In modern research, participation is often considered to be an important dimension of social capital. Social capital is linked to the notions of organizing the participation of citizens or local-level community resident in collective action for mutual benefit (see Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 1995). In this context, an important condition for building social capital and increasing participation is the establishment of social networks and a culture of (generalised) trust. Authors have distinguished between bonding and bridging social capital (see Putnam 1995; also, Burt, 2001; Lin 2005). Bonding social capital can be found in generally homogenous groups, while bridging capital can be found in more heterogeneous networks. In higher education institutions, students come from diverse backgrounds. We therefore expect that by bringing together people with different views and skills, who can cooperate in the achievement of mutual goals, universities might foster bridging social capital.

Young people, participation and higher education

The ways in which young people participate in civic society seems to be changing. Authors have noted that traditional political participation (e.g., voting) is declining among young people; however, this does not necessarily imply that young people are becoming disengaged. Instead, they seem to be participating more in other forms of (unconventional) participation (such as signing petitions, joining demonstrations and boycotts, etc.) (see Deželan and Kustec-Lipicer, 2014).

In the context of encouraging youth participation, the role of higher education seems to be obvious. Since increasing numbers of youth participate in higher education, universities could serve as fertile grounds for stimulating civic virtues. An overview of how higher education institutions are linked to civic engagement can be found in Pavlin et al. (2013). Based on their overview, we briefly summarize how universities foster civic virtues:

- Through the study of specific programmes and through curriculums that emphasize civic engagement and promote democratic values;
- Through engagement in associational activities, participation in student governance, community engagement and engagement in active, problem-based learning that stimulates practical (community) work; and
- Through the wider societal influence of universities, such as their development of critical traditions of thought, their functions as cultural custodians and their diffusion of practical wisdom

and moral and ethical values and standards into society.

The present article is interested solely in the second point: The idea that participation in a university community can provide individuals with a social environment that fosters political engagement, while also providing them with the skills for public functioning (Glaston, 2001, in Pavlin et al., 2013, 14). Active participation in student activities or various university organizations is linked to the establishment of social networks. Such networks can also be stimulated by the spatial organization of universities, as community research has indicated. Therefore, in this article, we would like to emphasize how the spatial organization of universities can further stimulate student participation in associational activities and student governance.

Participation and space

Research shows how local communities can stimulate the participation of community members and how, among other factors, the spatial organization of communities is important to such participation (Altman & Low, 1992; Blokland, 2000; Dekker, 2007; Geidne et al., 2012). The spatial characteristics that enable the formation of social networks and a sense of community also stimulate active participation in the community (e.g., Kim and Kaplan, 2004; Pendola and Gen, 2008; Youngentob and Hostleter, 2005). Previous studies have shown the relevance of open public spaces (which can function as meeting areas), of green recreational areas and of the 'walkability' of an area (i.e., the ability to reach primary services on foot). In general, open public places, parks and green areas have positive influences on participation, since they function as meeting areas where social networks can be formed and trust among community members can be built.

The provision of free civic spaces for organized and unorganized youth to engage in deliberation is deemed important to stimulate the participation and civic engagement of the youngsters (Deželan and Lipicer, 2014). However, young people are discouraged from using public spaces, since such use can be seen as a threat (e.g., by resulting in vandalism or another anti-social behaviour). This discouragement can occur through the removal of benches, the offering of commercial-only seating in coffee shops, or surveillance practices (for a further discussion on this, see Dee, 2008). Consequently, when observing public spaces and their suitability for youth, one should observe three important dimensions (Hollander, 2011):

- physical environment: specific sites and their physical effects on feelings of safety;
- social environment: different users, including specific groups, security personnel, and different uses (e.g., commercial, recreational, as a meeting space); and
- regulatory environment: protocols, security rules, and staff.

Public universities can be observed as a form of public space, where youth can spend time, discuss and exchange experiences and views and form social networks—all of which are relevant to the formation of social capital and which stimulate participation in the (university) community.

IMPORTANCE OF SPACE

The influence of physical space on participation and social capital was, for a long time, unjustifiability neglected in the spatial planning discourse of the 20th century. Historical examples of this discourse can be found, for example, in the writings of Le Corbusier (1927/1998), who was one of the most important figures of modernistic architecture[1]. Conceptions that focus primarily on the aesthetic value of space are potentially problematic, since they assign the built environment the role of an 'independent variable' (Knox, 1987, 355) without taking into account the functioning of social networks in the area. Through the prism that sees space as an independent variable, free of the networks of social activities, a space can be designed according to a planner's own preferences, and vice versa: that is, 'space can be configured as a designer of social relations' (Imrie, 1999, 28), which, as a side effect, often promotes unexpected ways of behaviour that diminish deliberation.

The history of urban planning is filled with cases in which the specific design of a space had unpredicted effects on its users, producing situations that were unexpected by the architects, the urban planners or the city authorities[2]. This expectation that individuals will behave according to the principles set by an authority is, in psychology, (see Rosenthal, Jacobsen, 1968/1992) often described as the 'Pygmalion effect'. As in the story of the mythical sculptor Pygmalion, who, according to Ovid's poem, fell in love with his own artwork and expected a stone statue to come to life, the consequences of Pygmalion effect can, in the case of spatial planning, result in misconceived design and architectural ideas based on the concept that people have uniform needs and wishes.

When we analyse the influence of space on participation, it is necessary to stress that physical (i.e., spatial) influences come only in combination with other sociocultural factors, which, together, produce effects on the behaviours of users of specific places. This synergy of social and spatial effects can be analysed through the ways in which various groups use and appropriate the spaces offered to them by other parties. This interplay between

1 Le Corbusier's concept of 'house as a living machine' (1927/1998, 4) illustrates the diminished role of the individual and his/her social networks in the designing of spaces (for more, see Uršič, 2008).

2 For discussion on traditional role of architecture and public space/parks see e.g. Obad Ščitaroci and Bojanič Obad Ščitaroci (2014).

spatial users and spatial planners (i.e., architects, urbanists, designers and other authorities) often results in the production of a completely new space, with its own rules and types of appropriate behaviours[3]. As Lefebvre (1974, 1991) describes, it is impossible to overlook how the unique 'spatial practices, representations of space, spaces of representation' and other collective experiences of space over time produce new spaces that confound simple definitions of standardized spaces. Through this relationship, each public space can be seen as a locality with a unique set of layers of memories, accumulated over days, months and years and reflected in the social networks of its users.

The so-called 'production of space' (Lefebvre, 1974, 1991) involves various strategies through which individuals and groups attempt to build or, more accurately, invest social capital into physical spaces. One such mechanism is the 'personalization of space' (Imrie, 1999) that represents a form of resistance to attempts by various authorities to prescribe certain forms of behaviour to certain spaces. By investing time, memories, emotions and social networks into spaces, groups and individuals produce their own rules for how to behave in a space. This form of influence can vary in intensity and is different from escapism (i.e., simply avoiding spaces where rules are set by other parties) or the partial adaptation of space (i.e., partially transforming a space through the installation of new practices, rituals, or movements) because it involves an actual, physical transformation of space, such that groups or individuals insert new physical elements into a space to change its symbolic and functional meanings. By doing so, a space's users seek to heighten the level of social capital in the space and to provide a platform for enhancing the participation of group members.

The personalization of space may contrast with formally expected forms of behaviour, and is often perceived by authorities (e.g., architects, city authorities, university administration officials, institutional representatives, etc.) as a form of vandalism, aggression, or destruction of aesthetic value, which supposedly has no cultural basis or origin in actual human needs. In fact, the balance between the socially accepted forms of behaviour in a space and any deviation is very delicate. In some cases, the resistance to a prescribed behaviour in a space may not have any legal basis, but may be supported by a large enough group to assure the its legitimacy. The borders between legality and legitimacy differ from society to society, such that one act can be severely sanctioned in one society and fully tolerated in other (and vice versa).

According to some authors (Zukin, 2011), the globalization of economies and the expansion of consumerism are drastically affecting opportunities for enhancing partitions and social capital through the personalization of space. Not only are public spaces becoming similar in their offerings of services and consumption activities, but, due to the standardization of planning procedures, the actual physical spaces are also being built on similar bases, becoming more resistant to personalization. The standardization of planning processes allows for quick urban development and commodification, but it also creates a vast number of 'non-spaces' (Auge, 1995) that do not possess a great deal of social capital or distinguished cultural identities and are poorly connected to local communities. Even more significantly, with regard to standardization processes, improvements in surveillance technology have allowed authorities to implement higher standards of control leading to the diminishment of diversity in space. By implementing higher standards of control, such authorities have become able to distinguish between 'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable' elements on the basis of dominating standards, usually set by the owners or other type of authority in a space.

In this article, we try to analyse specific aspects of this micro-interplay between users (student youth) and the physical spaces of universities that are regulated by various socio-cultural factors and formal authorities, such as laws and their (e.g., university, city, regional, national) representatives. We believe that Slovenian and Japanese students (i.e., the users of university spaces) adopt similar techniques, appropriations and uses of space, which can, as a result, be found in both locations. In this sense, the following analysis could show, not only how the construction of physical space similarly influences forms of participation and engagement in social activities in both countries, but also that the elements of global consumption, consumerism and standardization in space are present in both societies, regardless of their social or cultural differences and history.

PARTICIPATION AND UNIVERSITIES: THE TWO CASE STUDIES

Methodology

This study's methodological approach was based on a 'perceptual analysis' (Lynch, 1960, 1972, 1990) of selected case studies. The combination of case studies and the perceptual analysis of space facilitates the observation of certain phenomena in their real-life contexts (Yin, 2009). The data gathering methods for a case study can vary from qualitative to quantitative. We have limited ourselves to observation (i.e., the forming of notes) and the collection of photographic material, followed by a subsequent analysis of that material. The study was completed during the summer of 2014. The specific case studies were selected in order to study public spaces and student participation, as well as how trends of global consumerism, privatisation and homogenisation of space are evident in different parts of the world (i.e., Japan and Slovenia). The cases are comparable due

3 For an example of changes in use of spaces see Uršič (2012).

to similar funding structures, since both universities are publicly funded (e.g., by city or national governments) and, thus, are supposed to have similar representative functions in their communities as typical public institutions open to diverse social groups.

We sought to identify the spatial characteristics that could stimulate or hinder the building of communities and the participation of students, as well as to examine potential similarities in terms of the expanse of consumerism and the changing landscapes of public spaces (Zukin, 2011). For this purpose, we have followed in the analysis the dimensions of spatial design, as defined by Carmona et al. (2003), with special regard to the specific elements of perceptual analysis proposed by Lynch (1972, 1990). Carmona et al. (2003) define six dimensions of spatial design: namely, the morphological dimension, the perceptual dimension, the social dimension, the visual dimension, the functional dimension and the temporal dimension. In this article, we analyse two of these dimensions (i.e., physical and social) that can influence participation within communities, as presented in the previous section (as defined by Hollander, 2011); that is:

- Morphological dimension and physical organisation (e.g., organisation of buildings, building design, design of public space, etc.)
- Social organisation and functional dimension (e.g., commercial facilities, recreational facilities, comfort, relaxation, use of public space, etc.)

All of the enlisted dimensions of spatial design are 'filtered' by individuals who use the presupposed spaces. The perceptual analysis of space is usually constructed on the basis of individual perceptual inputs from a collection of spatial users. In our case, we followed an alternative path, such that our analysis was constructed on the basis of so-called 'behavioural maps' (Marcus, 1990; Larson et al., 2005). In this approach, the researcher's extended presence on-site allowed him to measure the intensity (i.e., power, dynamics, frequency, number of activities, performances, movements of specific groups and changes) in specific spatial phenomena in the spaces of interest. By combining observations from various time periods and identifying fluctuations in the intensity of phenomena during the observation period, the researcher was able to construct a coherent picture of the main perceptual spatial phenomena in selected locales.

The use of this methodology had specific advantages, since it reduced the influence of the subjective spatial perceptions of individual spatial users and allowed us to evaluate spaces that might have otherwise been excluded or overlooked (i.e., defined as unimportant by specific groups). The method also allowed us to construct a more precise general snapshot of the main 'hot' and 'cold' spots of spatial activities in selected locales.

On the basis of the observations, a map of the following elements was constructed:

- *Nodes of activities* (spaces where various functions and movements accumulate: that is, crossroads of multiple functions that usually include heightened mobility and flows of people and activities)
- *Type of function* (spaces were divided according to specific function: for example, privatized spaces, spaces of consumption, recreation spaces, study areas, public spaces, etc.)
- *Controlled spaces* (spaces where certain limits to activities are imposed by various factors, such as security, university staff, university rules and specific building designs)
- *Transient spaces* (spaces of intense transitory movement, migration flows and mobility)
- *Appropriated spaces* (spaces adapted to the frequent use of various groups and individuals that surpass, break, ignore or mold the rules set by university authorities)

Additionally, the intensity of each element or activity present in the university campus is noted (see the map of case studies). Using this method, it was possible to identify the hot and cold spots of activities in the university campus. The existing research serves as a basis for debate regarding the influence of spatial organization in universities and raises issues that seem to be neglected. In doing so, it potentially stimulates further and more robust research into these issues.

Case of Tokyo Metropolitan University

Tokyo Metropolitan University (TMU) was established in 1949. In 2005, the University was enlarged through integration with Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Technology, Tokyo Metropolitan University of Health Sciences and Tokyo Metropolitan College. TMU is a public university composed of 4 faculties, 28 divisions, 6 graduate schools and 30 departments. In 2014, approximately 9300 students were enrolled in TMU. The University is composed of various campuses (e.g., Minami-Osawa, Hino, Arakawa, etc.), which are distant from one another and vary according to size. The biggest and most central to the functioning of the university is the Minami-Osawa campus, while the others function as additional, supplemental units to the main one. For the purpose of our research, we focus only on the larger Minami-Osawa campus, which, due to its magnitude, allowed us to perform a focused case study of spatial significance and organization.

In the case of Tokyo Metropolitan University, we observe, over a period of two weeks[4], the structure of

4 In a period of two weeks (one week in August and one week in September), various locations in the university campus were cyclically observed for several hours. The cycle of observation included morning, afternoon and evening periods in order to construct an accurate picture of activity zones.





Pictures 1 and 2: Socially accessible 'primary' and 'secondary' spaces.



Map 1: Representation of different types of activities in Tokyo Metropolitan University

activities in various locations around the university campus. The analysis shows that some spaces in the university campus not only include more functions, but also are very socially accessible. These spaces are composed of various layers of functions and activities and are frequented by a wide array of groups and individuals. Such spaces are mainly connected to necessary everyday activities that are hard for individuals to avoid (e.g., university dining halls, university cafeterias, university food shops). These spaces combine various functions with public locations and represent the most inclusive and frequently used spaces in the campus (see Picture 1). These spaces also include various symbolic representations from a variety of groups (e.g., graffiti, posters, notices, etc.) and represent the 'neuralgic' centres of activity on campus. These 'primary' spaces are connected to various 'secondary' spaces, which are more selective in relation to access by specific groups and usually exist in close proximity to primary spaces. In the case of the TMU campus, a good representation of a secondary space is a huge corridor that connects a primary space with administrative offices and is partly occupied (i.e., barricaded) by a group of motorcyclists that use the space as a form of garage (see Picture 2). Another example of a secondary space is the student studios, which are assigned to specific groups (e.g., artists, musicians, reading groups, clubs, etc.) and are highly accessible and appropriated (i.e., adapted) to the uses of group members. In this sense, these secondary spaces represent the second tier of activities inside the network of spaces, which is cantered by the primary spaces. Due to the high intensity and heterogeneity of functions and users, primary spaces are very rare; usually, a maximum of two to three primary spaces exist in a whole campus (see Map 1).

While many of the university's spaces serve their functions well, it is also possible to see, from the analysis of the university campus, that some of the spaces designed to enhance the level of activities and attract various groups and individuals (see Picture 3) do not function appropriately. There are various reasons such spaces may not function the way they were meant to. Factors in the failure of a space range from a low intensity of individual mobility flows to a non-appealing, overly formal, hygienic[5] outlook (i.e., design of the space) (see Picture 4). Excessive attention to aesthetic monumentalism over the provision of (functional and social) heterogeneity or the informal spatial character of the place may result in low space attractiveness. Another factor contributing to low heterogeneity and low infor-

5 A high level of space standardization, which presupposes clean and formal spaces without any trace of chaos or informal activities, may also result in a low attraction of these spaces for various groups and users (see Jacobs, 1994; James, 1999; Sennet, 1996).





Pictures 3 and 4: Public spaces with limited activity intensity

mality of spaces may be found in the frequent security checks that implement precise controls in select campus spaces. The high level of control over university activities and spaces diminishes the informality of spaces and prevents the occurrence of unpredicted activities in the campus space. Due to the precise designation of spaces for specific functions, students prefer to use stairs and faculty or studio entrances for informal activities, rather than the benches and sitting areas that were provided by the architect in the open public spaces (see Picture 5).

In the case of the TMU campus, it is clear that the organization of space does not inherently include a large number of consumption spaces. The university campus is, in this sense, physically organized as an independent entity. However, although the university campus is organized as a physical entity, it is highly embedded in the wider functional system of the area, which includes a large number of consumption areas and multifunctional shopping malls (see Map 1). Moreover, the most frequently used connections between the university campus and the main public transport station (i.e., the Minami-Osawa station) pass through a specially designed consumption zone (i.e., Mitsui outlet village) before entering either the university campus or the public transport station. In this sense, the only walking connection between the university campus and the area's only subway station, which is used by the majority of commuters[6] (e.g., students, university staff, population in the vicinity) is a specially designed shopping street (i.e., outlet village) that copies the architectural design of French provincial villages (see Picture 6).

The structure of the wider area of the campus follows the principles of spatial 'zoning' (Pacione, 2001), such that regulations are imposed to separate specific functions and to deliberately preserve or promote the character of a specific area. Even though zoning tries to preserve specific spatial identities in the area of Minami-Osawa, where the university campus is located, it nevertheless creates new, exclusive spatial situations, which may deform the previous university character of the area through the intensification of consumption or changes to aesthetic appearances that may occur immediately after the exit from the university. The consumption spaces directly outside the campus, due to the high importance of the subway public transport network in the Tokyo metropolitan region, function as complementary spaces that integrate with the area of the university into one functional, synergic, interdependent space.

Case of University of Ljubljana

Univerza v Ljubljani (UL) was established in 1919. It is a large university, with 23 faculties and 3 arts academies. The faculties are mainly scattered within the wider centre of Ljubljana and, consequently, do not facilitate the undertaking of a focused case study of spatial significance and organisation. Consequently, we have narrowed down our focus to four faculties that are located near one another and, therefore, form a larger entity that is relatively distinct from the surrounding area. These faculties are: the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Economics, the Faculty of Administration and the Faculty of Education. The Faculty of Social Sciences (FSS), established in 1961 (and existing as a faculty since 1970), is one of the largest members of the University of Ljubljana. Likewise, the Faculty of Economics, with 6000 students, also represents one of the largest faculties. The Faculty of Administration is one of the youngest members of the University of Ljubljana, with approximately 2000 students. The faculties are located in direct proximity to one another in the northern part of Ljubljana (Bežigrad). Over a period of three weeks, we observed the structure of activities in various locations throughout this defined area. In addition to the faculties, the campus facilities (i.e., student rooms) are also located in this area.

Within its morphological organization of the buildings, the organization allows many open spaces, some of which are clearly framed to enable the flow of students and the creation of meeting points. In the southern part of the campus, the faculties are adjacent to a walking path, which is wide and allows for a good connection between the Faculties, the main road and the bus stations (on the west and east side of the campus). On the north side of the campus, the three faculties border a street and parking lot; north of that, the Faculty of Education is located on a street with denser traffic. Consequently, this street functions as a border that partly disconnects the faculty from the rest of the campus.

We have identified the spaces that represent nodes of activity and gathering spaces for students. The concentration of activities is most evident in the commercial areas linked to the daily activities and necessities of student life, such as eating (e.g., dining halls, cafes) (see Picture 7) and student work (e.g., photocopying, library). These spaces are mainly privately owned, and their intensity of use is the highest among all the spaces. However, their commercial nature limits and regulates the use of these spaces and, consequently, their potential to function as important factors in stimulating youth participation. The cafes are, however, sometimes used for social gatherings of larger student groups (e.g., first year students or students of specific programs).

High concentrations of social activity can also be found in all faculty entrances (on the outside and inside) (see Map 2). All the faculties have a wide-open

6 The majority (more than 85%) of commuter movements in Tokyo are performed using sustainable transport modes. The exact modal split for Tokyo is as follows: 23% walking, 14% cycling, 51% public transport (e.g., rail, light rail, monorail, subway, metro) and only 12% private motor vehicle (LTA, 2011).



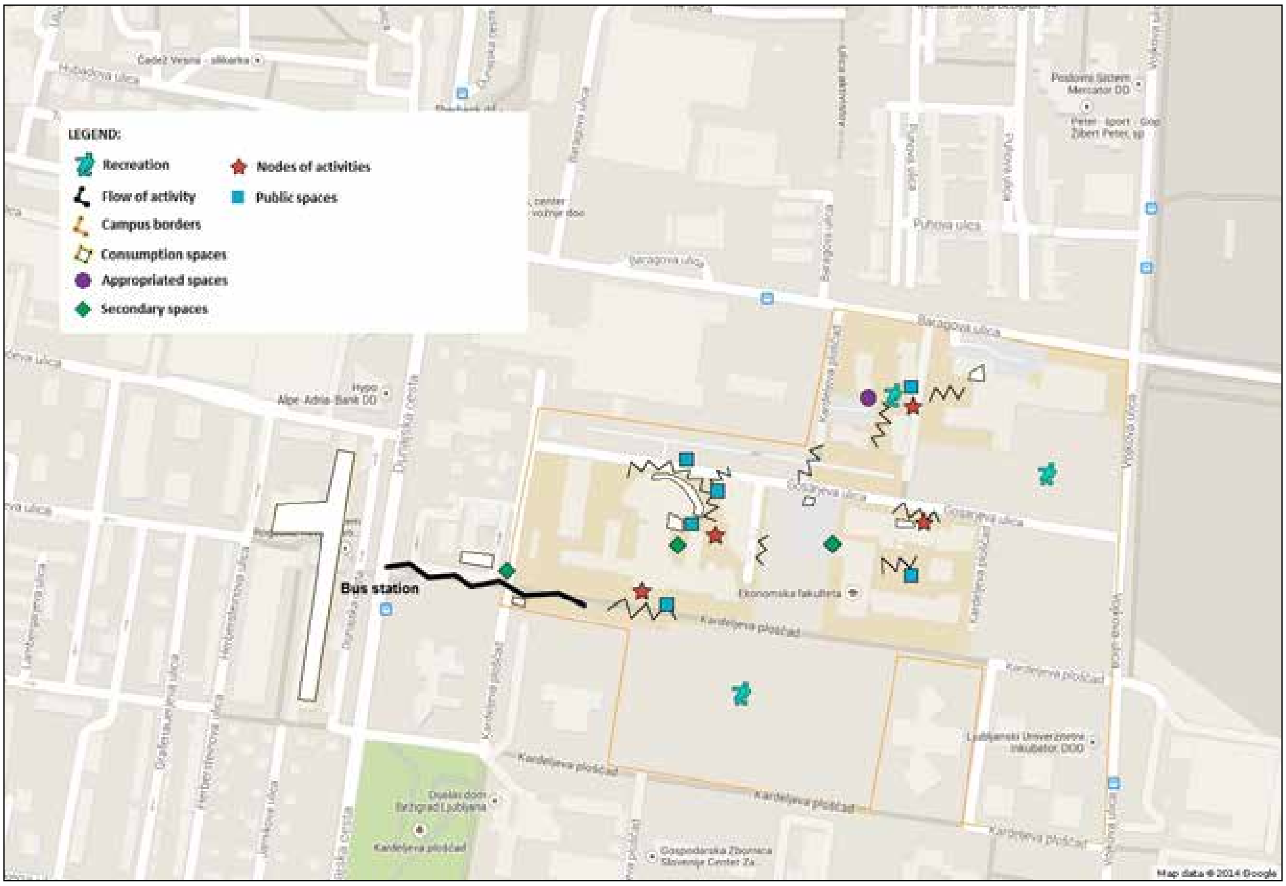


Pictures 5 and 6: Public space with limited activity intensity in university campus and consumption space in shopping village close to university campus





Pictures 7 and 8: Socially accessible spaces with high activity intensities



Map 2: Representation of different types of activities in the University of Ljubljana

space in front of their entrances, often with benches, which allows students to gather. In some cases, there is a lack of benches or other seating areas outside; however, this can be compensated by seating areas inside (see Picture 8). When extended use of these open spaces is enabled (through seating options), we can see that the use of these spaces increases (e.g., through student meetings and discussions, working on computer, etc.). These areas are also used for civil initiatives (e.g., students helping to gather food and clothes for victims of natural disasters), for campaigns during student elections, for presentations of individual clubs, for associations and for other activities organized by students and/or student organisations. However, the presence of security guards/receptionists in some of these spaces, as well as the constant presence of teaching staff, adds a regulatory dimension to the use of these spaces, which might decrease their broader functionality and limit their potential to stimulate youth participation. However, it should be noted that the corridors and entrances, which were not designed to stimulate student participation and activity, often function in just such a way. These can therefore be seen as appropriated spaces. In contrast, some seating areas are deserted, due to their positions in highly regulated environment (e.g., in a corridor in front of the Dean's office, in the Faculty of Social Sciences).

The outside paths and the corridors inside the buildings link the faculties, as well as the bus stations. These paths do not only offer transition pathways, but also often serve as places to meet. Even though sitting areas in these spaces are infrequent or entirely absent, students can be seen using floors and staircases. However, the lack of sitting places, as well as the partly neglected look of some outer spaces, might discourage prolonged use of such spaces (e.g., in the southern path, which connects the faculties to bus station) (see Picture 9). Consequently, these spaces have little potential to stimulate the formation of networks, the gathering of youth or various participative activities.

There are also some spaces that represent cold spots. The use of these spaces is minimal, even though they were designed as transition points. One example is the bridge between the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Administration, which is 'cold' as a result of the closed entrance to the latter. Consequently, this path is infrequently used diminishing the link between the two institutions.



Picture 9: Public spaces with limited activity intensity

This case has shown that numerous open spaces are used by the students; however, the most commonly used spaces are the commercial areas. This finding is further debated in the next and concluding section.

Short discussion regarding the influence of the identified spatial features in selected case studies on social capital and participation

The analysis of the case studies identified several important spatial and social features that influence the social capital and participation of youth in public spaces. In both cases, we identified primary and secondary spaces that represent the backbones of the social network that exist in selected locales. The primary spaces represent important nodes of activity where social capital has accumulated over time and participation is best seen through the various forms of the social and cultural expression of student youth. However, such places are rare, and the forms of expression are also limited—or, more accurately, channelled and controlled by various formal procedures (e.g., security service, cameras, campus rules, etc.) that exist to supervise public participation in the spaces. In this sense, secondary spaces represent an important form of support for primary spaces. Secondary spaces are the areas where temporary, limited, informal activities can take place. Although these secondary spaces do not posses the same 'public quality' or accumulated social capital as primary spaces, they undoubtedly represent spaces where youth's concepts, ideas and potential originate. Thus, primary spaces are places where participation is implemented, whereas secondary spaces, through their informality and semi-private, non-formal, individually expressive character, provide the initial impulses for the movement to participate in a public space.

The third type of space noted in both case studies was the 'cold spots', which have the potential to develop into primary or secondary spaces, but lack specific qualities that would enhance their functions. Such spaces have the character of transitory spaces, used only for limited times or to move from one part of campus to another, or they exist in regulated environments that destimulate the active participation of youth. These spac-

es, which are common in both case studies, best show the spatial influence on the diminishment of public participation and social capital. However, the general walkability found in both case studies indicates that this important spatial condition for building social capital is fulfilled.

For universities that wish to stimulate the active participation of youth and to form social capital within their campuses, an understanding of how spaces function in a university is vital. Furthermore, the findings of this study also suggest that campus authorities can, through increasing or reducing the number of primary and secondary spaces, directly influence the level of social capital and public participation. By increasing the number of primary and secondary spaces, universities can enhance the level of participation and possible accumulation of social capital on their campuses, which could result in positive effects on deliberation and on society in general. Here, there seems to be potential in the present (unused) green public spaces, the recreational areas and the transitory spaces (e.g., in the Slovenian case study).

However, it is important to note that the potential to develop additional primary and secondary spaces is strongly influenced by the consumption of spaces and the marketization of lifestyles, which promote specific forms of social engagement and leisure activities within the vicinity of or inside student campuses. These processes additionally diminish the participative potential of student youth and disperse social capital across smaller groups of students. Furthermore, the homogeneity of these places and the nature of their use can diminish the formation of bridging social capital, which is linked to more heterogeneous practices and users of space.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the functions of educational institutions is to provide students with the tools necessary to be responsible citizens. In this article, we discussed the spatial aspects of universities in relation to their potential to foster participative virtues in students, which have been identified as important by spatial and participation studies.

We have illustrated how (public) spaces are organised and used in two public universities in Slovenia and Japan. In doing so, we have focused on the physical dimensions and social/functional dimensions of the organisation of space, with additional emphasis on the regulation and control of space.

First, the physical (morphological) dimension of space differs significantly between the two case studies. This difference is caused by the architectural designs of the campuses: Ljubljana is a scattered campus with no common design, while Tokyo has a uniform design. Both have open public spaces, although they seem to be used to different degrees in each case. The use (or not) of benches is such an example. In the Slovenian case, benches are frequently used, whereas, in Tokyo, they are often empty. The cause for this difference is the location of the benches: In Slovenia the benches are located near entrances and main buildings, whereas, in Tokyo, they are also present in more isolated, open spaces.

In observing the social and functional dimension, we identified some significant similarities between the campuses. In both case studies, the commercial areas seemed to be the focal points of activity and deeply affected the flows and movements of campus users. The two case studies exposed the different ways in which universities are affected by the process of the commercialization of space. Further, in our analysis, we inventoried the extent to which the processes of marketisation and commodification affect the organisation of activities in universities. To do so, we explored our observations of the daily lives, mobility patterns, movements and flows of students. The movements between university spaces and consumption spaces are, in the case of Tokyo, literally integrated into the necessary daily paths of students, whilst, in the case of Ljubljana, some privatized commercial areas are part of the university buildings, making them unavoidable parts of the university space. Other spaces that would enable meeting and communication among students seemed to be less numerous or unused (as shown by the example of Tokyo). Furthermore, commercial spaces, which are the focus of activity, might exclude use by specific groups that do not possess the necessary economic resources (e.g., those with lower incomes) or limit student activities due to the nature and regulatory dimensions of such environments (e.g., their specifically defined use, the presence of personnel).

Variation can also be found between the two case studies with regard to the social and functional dimension of spaces. One of the clearest differences between the two universities was the existence of appropriated spaces. In Tokyo, there are specific appropriated spaces open to the free use of students (e.g., student group studios), while, in Ljubljana, such spaces are almost non-existent. Furthermore, the regulatory environments of the universities are also different, which causes differences in student use and participative potential. In the Slovenian case study, the most commonly used spaces (i.e., entrances, corridors and cafes) were regulated areas, partly due to their nature (i.e., also frequented by educational staff) and partly due to the presence of control personnel (such as receptionists/security guards). This regulation reduces the use of these public spaces by students as meeting places. In the Tokyo case, the whole space of the university campus is guarded by a security service, and each place is designed to fulfil a specific function. However, this regulatory environment is 'softened' by a mix of highly appropriated group spaces and collective public spaces, where various functions coincide and which are frequented by all campus users.

It is important to note that the materials used in this study were mainly gathered for illustrative purposes, to present the issues linked to the spatial organisation

of selected universities and their (spatial) potential to stimulate civic participation. In a more comprehensive research study, it would be possible to provide more detailed and elaborated data for the study of spatial phenomena. For example, in the future, the number of case studies could be increased to include several different cultural contexts in diverse environments and to examine more variables concerning the perceptual dimensions of locations.

With this explorative study, we wished to stress the neglected issue of spatial organisation of universities, as well as to illustrate how university spaces can be used to stimulate youth participation and, therefore, to strengthen students' capabilities as citizens. However, our analysis indicated high commercialization, thus confirming the assumption that public spaces, even within universities, face trends of privatization and consumerism (see Ryan, 2011; White, 2001; Zukin, 2011). A proper expose of the effects of interweaving university spaces and consumption spaces, including their marketisation and influences on various groups, would require more research. Most importantly, further research should include the views of the users of these spaces—a perspective that is lacking in the present study. However, we conclude that the present study, which focused primarily on the analysis of physical spaces and movements (i.e., flows of users in the wider university environment), sufficiently exposes the connections among specific spatial uses, their functions and their roles in the daily life cycles of students. The study not only revealed the increasing importance of the marketisation and commodification of spaces, but also pointed to the insufficient and inappropriate use of existing university spaces originally designed to enhance user participation. The reasons for the non-optimal use of such spaces include inappropriate design, bad location, excessive control and others. However, by pointing out specific 'cold' spots in university environments, this study creates the possibility to reuse these spaces for public participation in the future. The possibility of reuse will depend greatly on the way in which university authorities approach the problem and envision the future role of these 'publicly non-effective' spaces. In historical terms, university spaces have always been among the most society progressive, inclusive and deliberating places in existence, and they have served as the breeding grounds for countless new ideas and civil and cultural movements. In recent years, this role of universities as public spaces has been diminished—or, at least, greatly transformed. It may be time to re-evaluate the public participation potential of university spaces once again and to enhance their deliberative roles in today's consumption-oriented society.

VPLIV PROSTORSKE ORGANIZACIJE NA PARTICIPACIJO MLADIH: PRIMERA UNIVERZE V LJUBLJANI IN METROPOLITANSKE UNIVERZE V TOKIJU

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POVZETEK

Eno ključnih vprašanj v sodobni družbi je problem zmanjševanja civilnega udejstvovanja in participacije posameznikov, še posebno med mladimi. Univerze so pomembne družbene inštitucije, v okviru katerih se lahko posamezniki učijo ter udejanjajo državljanske vrednote, med katere spada tudi participacija. V članku tako naslovimo vprašanje prostorske organizacije univerz kot pomembnega dejavnika, ki lahko vpliva na participacijo mladih. Organizacija prostora namreč lahko povečuje ali pa ovira državljanjske vrednote, kot sta participacija in zaupanje med ljudmi. V prispevku predstavljamo eksplorativno raziskavo dveh študij primerov, in sicer Univerze v Ljubljani in Univerze v Tokiju, s katerima želimo ilustrirati pomen prostora za participacijo mladih. Analizirali smo prostorsko organiziranost obeh univerz, pri čemer smo se posebej osredotočili na fizično in funkcionalno/družbeno organizacijo prostora. Rezultat so zemljevidi, ki kažejo naravo in pogostost uporabe javnih prostorov. V diskusiji se navežemo na prisotnost trendov potrošništva in privatizacije javnih prostorov v okviru univerz ter razmišljamo o njihovih posledicah za participacijo mladih.

Ključne besede: participacija, mladi, javni prostor, univerza, izobraževanje, Univerza v Ljubljani, Univerza v Tokiju

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READERS OF ONLINE NEWS COMMENTS: WHY DO THEY READ HATE SPEECH COMMENTS?

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ABSTRACT

In this study, 378 readers of online hate speech comments were surveyed to examine the motivations of audiences for reading the hate speech comments that are published below online news texts. The research's results revealed that respondents were motivated to read them for guidance, entertainment or social utility, convenience, and to seek information. Seeking guidance was the primary motivation for reading online hate speech comments. The respondents' age, level of education, and gender were negatively correlated with all the motivations for reading them. Income was not correlated significantly to motivations. Those who conducted a greater amount of online activities read comments for entertainment. Hate speech online comments attracted greater numbers of politically affiliated people.

Key words: *Internet, audience, hate speech, reader online comments, motives, uses and gratification approach.*

LETTORI DI COMMENTI DELLE NOTIZIE ONLINE: PERCHÉ LEGGONO I COMMENTI INCITANTI ALL'ODIO?

RIASSUNTO

Nella ricerca sono stati intervistati 378 lettori di commenti incitanti all'odio, pubblicati come articoli giornalistici. Risultati dimostrano che gli intervistati leggono questi articoli per il loro orientamento, divertimento / per socializzare, comodità, cercando le informazioni. La ricerca delle informazioni/consiglio era riportata come motivo principale per la lettura di commenti. L'età dell'intervistato, educazione e genere sono in correlazione negativa con sopra elencati motivi per la lettura di commenti incitanti all'odio. Il reddito non è statisticamente correlato con I motivi per la lettura di questo tipo di commenti. Gli intervistati che sono più attivi e presenti sull'internet leggono anche più commenti. Commenti incitanti all'odio attirano di più I lettori con forte affiliazione al partito politico.

Parole chiave: *internet, pubblico, discorso incitante all'odio, lettori di commenti online, motivi, approccio Agenda-Setting.*

INTRODUCTION

Whereas traditional media readers were limited to writing letters to the editor, an online version of such public forum is available to online news media readers. They can immediately publish their opinions below online news texts. Scholars have labeled such practice in different manners. For example, some have labelled it as "daet-geul" (e.g., Cho, 2007; You et. al., 2011), "readers blogs" (e.g., Domingo, Heinonen, 2008; Hermida, Thurman, 2008), "audience participation opportunities" (Domingo et al., 2008), "(online) reader comments" (e.g., McCluskey, Hmielowsky, 2012; Nilsen, 2010; Santana, 2010; Wardle et. al., 2009; Weber, 2013). I used the term "online reader comments because its use is extremely commonly among scholars and the Slovenian public (Erjavec, 2012).

Online reader comments have been presented as a new form of interactivity that could provide a larger public forum and a greater level of civic participation (e.g., Cho, 2007; Rosenberry, 2011) and that could "save" journalism (e.g., Bowman, Willis, 2003). However, the possibilities of interactivity have also increased the likelihood that hate speech, which is commonly defined as any form of expression that is directed at objects of prejudice that perpetrators use to wound and denigrate their recipient, might appear among news websites' comments (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a). Therefore, numerous authors (e.g., Cammaerts, 2009; Domingo et al., 2008; Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a, 2012b; Santana, 2012) have highlighted that online hate speech comments have increased in number and have emphasized the need to analyze them. A study of hate speech victims demonstrated that the consequences of hate speech that they experience are similar to those that the recipients of other types of trauma experience (Leets, 2002).

Studies on online hate speech comments have predominantly included analyses of regulations (e.g., Milosavljević, 2012; Motl, 2010; Nemes, 2002; Santana, 2012), discourse (e.g., Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012b), ethical dimensions (e.g., Vobič et. al., 2013) and the characteristics of writers of hate speech comments (e.g., Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a). However, the reason why people read hate speech online comments has not been the focus of any research. In this research, I contribute to uncovering what motivates readers to read online hate speech comments.

In this study, I surveyed 378 readers of hate speech comments that were published below online news texts by their readers to examine their motivations for reading them. I employed a uses and gratification approach to analyze the readers' motivations because it is useful for studying people what motivates people to use the Internet (Kaye, Johnson, 2004).

In the first chapter, I outline the theoretical background; in the two chapters that follow, I outline the methodology of this research, and present the results of the survey, respectively. In the concluding chapter, I summarize and discuss this research's results.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Motivations for Reading Internet Components

According to Sundar and Limperos (2013), the uses and gratification approach based on Katz and his colleagues (1974) regards (a) the social and psychological origins of (b) needs, which generate (c) expectations from (d) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (e) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (f) need gratification and (g) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones. The assumption inherent in this approach is that people have innate needs that can be satisfied by the media (Katz et al., 1974).

Early Internet media consumption studies had already included an approach to the Internet as a medium that had a greater level of goal-orientation than the traditional mass media (Chan, 2011; Eighmey, 1997; Kaye, 1998; Kaye, Johnson, 2004; Lin, 2001, 2002). Scholars believe that online users are aware of the motives they are attempting to gratify a variety of motives (Chan, 2011; Eighmey, 1997). Studies that are based on the uses and gratification approach include the assumption that audience members actively search for media messages to satisfy specific needs (McLeod and Becker, 1981; Palmgreen, 1984; Kaye, Johnson, 2004). Scholars consider the uses and gratification approach to be optimally suited to study communication over the Internet. They have examined how people use the Internet in general (Chan, 2011; LaRosa Eastin, 2004; Papacharissi, Rubin, 2000) and specific Internet components (Kaye, Johnson, 2004).

According to Chan (2011, 69), four primary motivations exist for using the Internet: information seeking, socialization, entertainment, and pastime. When people are motivated to seek information, they use the Internet for self-education and information purposes. The socialization motivation comes into play the Internet becomes "a facilitator of interpersonal communication and activities" (Korgaonkar, Wolin, 1999, in Chan, 2011). People use the Internet for enjoyment and relaxation purposes when they are motivated to seek entertainment. The pastime motivation refers to instances where people might use the Internet to occupy their free time without seeking a productive interest. Although this set of motivations for using the Internet does not match exactly that relating to the use of traditional news media, the four primary dimensions hold promise for exploring the gratification-seeking motivations in the context of online newspapers because of their broader range and their commonalities with the motivations that were identified in traditional news media studies (Chan, 2011).

Whereas most studies have included examinations of the Internet as a single entity, Kaye and Johnson

(2004) specifically considered the Web, bulletin boards or electronic mailing lists, and chat rooms, and discovered that each Internet component satisfied slightly different needs. The 442 respondents of their study were motivated to use the Web to seek for political information concerning advice on how to vote, entertainment or social utility, and convenience, and to seek information. Entertainment or social utility, information seeking, convenience, and guidance were the four motivators for using message boards or electronic mailing lists. Respondents were drawn to chat rooms for guidance or because they were seeking information, entertainment or social utility, and convenience.

Online Reader Comments

Reader comments that are published below online news texts have specific characteristics: (a) they relate to news texts and can constitute an "intertextuality" between the news texts and comments that other users post below them; (b) they share the same space with the original messages, and are considered "parasitic text"; (c) they are "communicative text[s]," in that they are a response to the published news items; and (d) they are purposive and asynchronous (You et al., 2011, 5).

Journalists are ambivalent about online reader comments, expressing concerns over the posts, but acknowledging that posts occasionally affect stories (McCluskey, Hmielowski, 2012, 307). According to McCluskey and Hmielowski (2012), although most journalists did not find the comments useful (Nielsen, 2010), the comments helped them to form story ideas (Robinson, 2010; Santana, 2010; Wardle et al., 2009). In addition, the journalists added story content (Robinson, 2010; Santana, 2010) and fixed inaccuracies (Robinson, 2010) in response to online readers' comments. In a recent study, Nilsen (2013) found that journalists largely ignored reader comments. They felt that anonymous reader comments were primarily a forum for readers to interact with other readers. The fact that journalists largely supported the idea of having online comments, but did not read them, suggests that journalists viewed comment spaces as a third place for readers. Using this conception, technology had satisfied the users' needs, making it a closed technology rather than a tool that allowed mutual shaping. Whereas users might have participated in ongoing versions of comments by conversing with other readers, journalists maintained the "we publish, you read" mentality (Nilsen, 2013).

According to Torres da Silva (2013, 179), the principal problem that emerges from online reader comments is the anonymity of those responding online, which introduces concerns relating to verification, accountability, and accuracy. Some scholars argued that anonymity and the use of nicknames foster greater openness in debates because the participants felt freer to express their opinions online, could encourage the expression of parts of the self that were repressed in offline interactions, and could remove the fear of being personally banned. However, others referred to the opportunity for the conscious deception of identity as potentially leading to undermining the trust that exists within online groups and to misinformation and inaccuracy, as well as to a greater numbers of verbal attacks (leading to injury and humiliation), among other forms of incivility (Torres da Silva, 2013). Aside from anonymity, Torres da Silva also referred to other problems: posts and comments often included a focus on personal viewpoints and did not meet other arguments, nor were they written in response to other participants. The pressure to reply quickly could limit the likelihood of the participants carefully considering and re-developing their positions, and could lead particular individual persons or groups to monopolize the readers' attention (Torres da Silva, 2013).

An analysis of people's reasons for reading online reader comments showed that the comments being read were strongly associated with the use of general and entertainment news (You et al., 2011). In particular, reading entertainment news was the most powerful indicator that readers read comments that are published below online news texts. This means that reading online comments could be a behavior that is strongly motivated by entertainment seeking. The probability that readers would read comments decreased as the age of the readers who engaged in online communities increased, and increased with the amount of online news that they read (Torres da Silva, 2013). Similarly, Tenenboim and Cohen (2013), in their study of the characteristics of heavily read versus highly commented-upon news items, found that 40%–59% of the heavily read items were different from the highly commented-upon items. Whereas sensational topics and curiosity-arousing elements were more widely read than the highly commented-upon items, political or social topics and controversial elements were among the more frequently commented-upon items. Readers were overwhelmingly engaged in a dialogue with each other in the comments section on political topics, such as racism (Loke, 2012). The quality of dialogue does not reflect the most thoughtful exchanges. Such reader comments do not need to foster an intellectual dimension; rather, they need to foster a civic dimension (Craig, 2010). Loke (2012, 249) claimed that racism is more difficult to combat now because anonymous reader comments' section hosts racist dialogues.

Online Hate Speech Reader Comments

The new public sphere that online news sites have created, which was meant to promote democracy, might have had the effect of excluding specific marginalized groups further and might have increased the possibility that news online sites' comments might contain hate speech. However, hate speech must be defined before its appearance in online readers' comments can be dis-

cussed. Although, no definition of hate speech is universally preferred, certain common elements of hate speech have emerged. Hate speech refers to an expression that is abusive, insulting, intimidating, harassing, and/or incites to violence, hatred, or discrimination (Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012a). It is directed against people based on characteristics such as race, ethnic origin, religion, gender, age, physical condition, disability, sexual orientation, political conviction (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a). Social scientists agree that the regulation of hate speech should not be left solely to the law because laws and regulations are only possible within the legal system, which is consensually created from the external interests of political and civil actors (Dragoš, 2007). The reduction of complex issues to legal matters means transferring responsibilities to one sector and discharging the responsibilities of other sectors (Dragoš, 2007).

The research on hate speech comments that are published below online news texts is limited but growing. Online reader comments contain greater numbers of hate speech messages than written letters to the editor because hate speech messages in letters can be eliminated from publication more easily. Editors deliberately permit the publication of online reader comments because they perceive them as a means of keeping old users of online news media and attracting new ones, and because reporters and editors do not know how to identify hate speech (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a, 2012b; Motl, 2010). Research of how reporters define and understand hate speech has demonstrated that over one third of interviewees from the mainstream Slovenian media cannot define hate speech, whereas other interviewees can differentiate between hate speech and offensive speech (Erjavec, 2012). An analysis of editors' understanding of hate speech produced similar results. Specific editors among the key Slovenian news media editors do not differentiate between hate-speech and other forms of banned speech and do not employ precise regulatory and self-regulatory systems and, thus, numerous decisions regarding hate-speech comments are arbitrary (Milosavljević, 2012).

Research on discourses in readers' hate speech comments that were published in mainstream Slovenian news web sites demonstrated that readers used different strategies, mostly rearticulating the meaning of news items (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012b). Hate speech referred to race (against the Roma), nationality (against Croats and other nations from the ex-Yugoslav republics), sexuality (against homosexuals), politics (against political opponents), and religion (against the Catholic Church, Muslims, and Jews) (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012b).

An analysis of the personality characteristics of online producers of hate speech comments identified two groups of writers: the first group of writers consisted of "soldiers" who were organized, whereas the second group of non-organized producers includes "believers", "players," and "watchdogs" who acted on their own initiative (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a). The principal motivation of the soldiers and believers was to complete their mission; they shared the characteristics of an authoritarian personality. Seeking thrills and fun motivated players, whereas social injustices drew the attention of watchdogs; these two subgroups had the characteristics of a libertarian personality.

One of the most noted measures of the regulation of the hate speech in online reader comments is the removal of anonymity (Santana, 2012). Kling and colleagues (1999, 84) have claimed that people might express anonymously views that they would not express if they believed they could be identified and held responsible for them. However, Boyd (2011) indicated that the people who most heavily rely on pseudonyms in online spaces are those who are most marginalized by the systems of power. Thus, the removal of anonymity is not empowering; it is an authoritarian assertion of power over vulnerable people.

Because studies on the motivations for reading online reader hate speech comments are absent in the existing literature, this research constitutes a partial attempt to fill this research gap and answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the motivations for reading the hate speech online reader comments?

RQ2: How strong is the correlation between the motivations for reading the online hate speech comments of readers and demographics, the strength of political party affiliation, and the use of the Internet?

RQ3: Can demographics, political attitudes, the periods spent using the Internet, and the number of online activities predict what motivates readers to read the online hate speech comments of other readers?

METHOD

To answer the research questions, I posted an online survey on the World Wide Web in March and April 2014. Internet readers were asked to participate in the survey through announcements that I placed on online news sites, electronic mailing lists, and social networks sites, such as Facebook and Twitter. Analogously to the approach that Kaye and Johnson (2004) adopted in their study, in this study, I used a convenience sample of Internet users who were directed to the survey by the online announcements. In such survey, I could not calculate the response rate because knowing how many people might have seen the survey and might have refused to participate is impossible. A total of 378 readers of hate speech comments participated in this survey and replied to all questions in the questionnaire. Among the respondents, 83% (n = 314) were men and 17% (n = 44) were women; 49% (n = 185) were younger than 30 years of age; 28% (n=106) were between 30 and 35

years of age; 13% (n = 49) were between 46 and 60 years of age; and 10% (n = 38) were older than 61 years of age.

To familiarize the respondents with the definition of hate speech, Iincluded the definition of hate speech into the introductory text: "hate speech comments include expression that are abusive, insulting, intimidating, harassing, and/or incite violence, hatred, or discrimination against people on the basis of their race, ethnic origin, religion, gender, age, physical condition, disability, sexual orientation, and political conviction."

I developed a questionnaire that is based on Kaye and Johnson's (2004) study. Thus, I adopted their 22-statement scale, which they derived from past uses and gratification studies. The five factors were defined (Kaye, Johnson, 2004) as follows:

(a) Guidance: People who look for advice and are interested in accessing information to guide their decisions;

(b) Information seeking: Information seeking is an activity that is more purposeful than guidance and is defined as actively searching for specific information and monitoring the social landscape;

(c) Entertainment: People seeking entertaining information for relaxation and amusement purposes;

(d) Social utility: Using hate speech comments to reinforce decisions and arm people with information to use in discussions with others; and

(e) Convenience: Seeking information from hate speech comments because it is more convenient than turning to traditional sources.

Respondents indicated the extent of their agreement with reasons for reading the online hate speech comments by referring to a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The items were factored subsequently by conducting a principal components analysis that employed a varimax rotation. The summated indexes of each factor were created by summing the individual variables and conducting a reliability analysis. The factors were shown to be internally consistent (α = .901).

The motivation factors were correlated with the strength of party affiliation. Respondents were asked to report whether they viewed themselves as a "strong party supporter," a "weak party supporter," or as "independent" (Kaye, Johnson, 2004).

Based on Kaye and Johnson's study (2004), this study also accounted for Internet experience: the period spent using the Internet and the number of activities that respondents conducted while online. Respondents were asked to estimate how much time they spent on the Internet, they have been accessing the Internet, and to select from 22 online activities, such as sending e-mails, accessing news, surfing for interesting web sites, accessing bulletin lists, researching for school work, shopping, and downloading free software.

In this study, I employed correlation and regression analyses to test the research questions. The motivation factors were correlated with the strength of party affiliation. A hierarchical regression was conducted to examine whether demographics (age, income, gender, and education), strength of party affiliation, and Internet experience (time spent using the Internet and number of online activities) could predict motivations for reading online hate speech comments.

RESULTS

Basic Information

Of the 387 survey respondents, 16% (n = 62) were strong party supporters, 21% (n = 81) were weak party supporters, and 63% (n = 244) were independent.

The amount of time that the respondents spent using the Internet on typical school, study or work days differed from their use of it on weekends or during holidays, in that it increased substantially (Table 1). Over a quarter of respondents used the Internet for 2–3 hr on

Table 1: Time of Internet Use (n = 378):
Tabela 1: Čas uporabe interneta (n = 378):

How much time do you spend on the Internet?	On a typical school/study/ work day	On weekends or during holidays
Approximately 10 min or less	4%	2%
Approximately half an hr	8%	5%
Approximately 1 hr	11%	8%
1–2 hr	15%	9%
2–3 hr	28%	21%
3–4 hr	18%	25%
4–5 hr	12%	22%
5 hr or more	4%	8%

a typical weekday (28%, n = 106) and 3–4 hr (25%, n = 95) on weekends. According to the frequency is on the second place respondents use the Internet for 3–4 hr (18%, n = 68) on typical weekdays and 4–5 hr (22%, n = 83) on weekends. Fifteen percent (n = 57) of respondents use the Internet for 1–2 hr on typical school, study or work days, and 22% (n = 83) use it for 4–5 hr on weekends. The respondents using the Internet for the least period use it for approximately 10 min or less.

The respondents engaged in an average of 10 of the 22 possible online activities, the most popular of which was posting e-mails (92.8%). This activity was closely followed by accessing news (92.3%), which included reading hate speech comments, and social network sites (91.7%) (Graph 1). In this study, 87.2% of respondents regularly surfed for interesting web sites. Respondents regularly engage in researching for school and work (68.7%), playing games (64.3%), banking or paying bills (64.1%), shopping (61.3%), searching services (60.8%), researching consumer products (55.2%), downloading or listening to music (49.3%), accessing bulletin boards or lists (45.4%), downloading free software (43.6%), and booking travel arrangements (41.6%). The second last group of online activities include chatting in forums (39.4%), instant messaging (37.2%), sending electronic postcards (32.5%), job searching (32.1%), checking stock or finance news (28.5%), and creating Web pages (22.8%). The last group of online activities includes respondents who are buying or selling stocks (10.3%) and auctioning (7.2%).

Furthermore, slightly over eight out of 10 respondents (83.2%) had graduated with a college degree or had a higher university degree. Almost a half (48.7%) and slightly less than one quarter (24.6%) of the respondents reported a net monthly income between € 1000 and € 1500 and between € 500 and € 1000, respectively. The net monthly income of 11.3% and 8.3% of the respondents was, respectively, less than € 500 and more than € 2000. Finally, 7.1% of the respondents did not have an income.

Motivations for Reading the Online Hate Speech Reader Comments

Factor analysis revealed the following four motivations for reading online hate speech reader comments that were published below online news texts: guidance, entertainment and/or social utility, convenience, and information seeking (Table 2). Each factor had an eigenvalue of at least one. Guidance, entertainment and/or social utility, convenience, and information seeking accounted for, respectively, 35.2%, 27.4%, 11.8%, and 10.6% of the variability, totaling 85% of the variance.

Readers were drawn primarily to the online hate speech comments to seek guidance. Entertainment and/or social utility was the second strongest reason for reading the hate speech comments that were published below online news texts. Convenience was the third

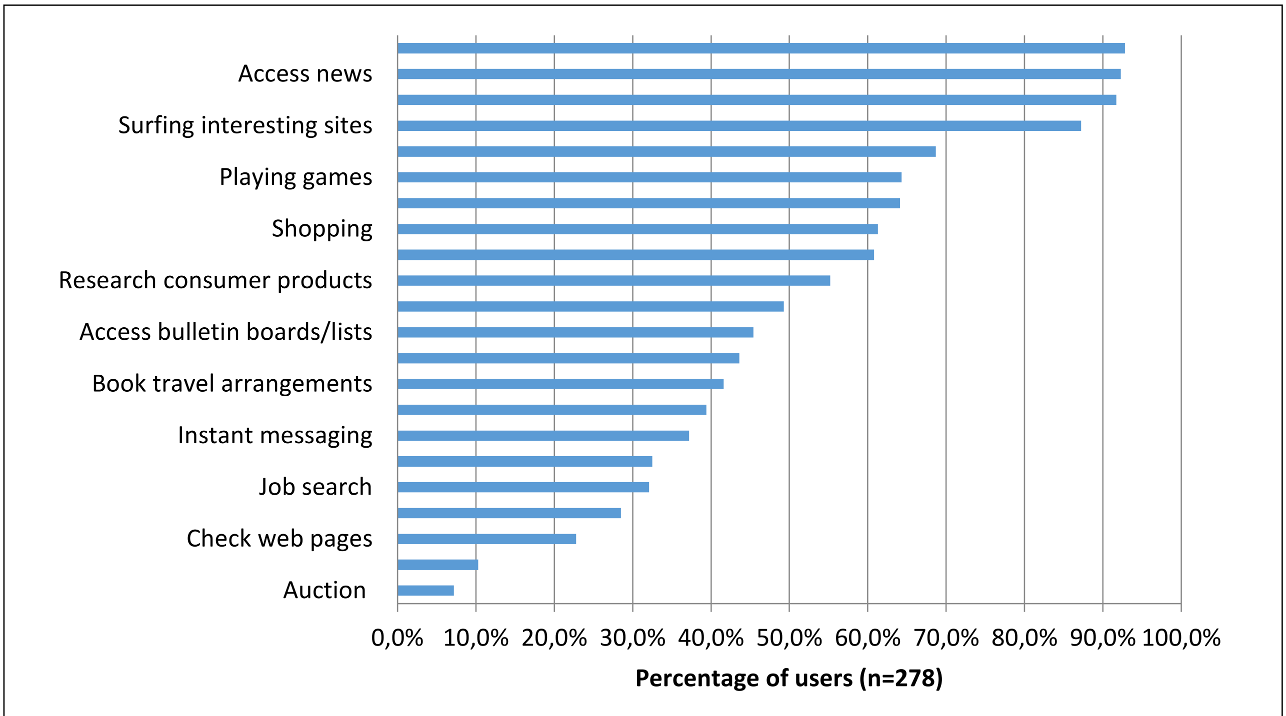


Figure 1: Online activities.
Slika 1: Spletne dejavnosti.

Table 2: Motivations for Reading Online Hate Speech Comments (n = 387):
Tabela 2: Motivi za branje spletnih komentarjev s sovražnim govorom (n = 378):

	Factor matrix			
	Guidance	Entertainment and/or social utility	Convenience	Information seeking
Hate comments use motivations “I read hate speech comments …”				
Factor 1 Guidance				
To help me decide about important issues.	.71	.02	.05	.15
To judge qualities of news texts.	.71	.11	.21	.11
To see what other think about the issue.	.69	.14	.08	.31
For unbiased viewpoints.	.64	.05	.19	.11
To find out about issues affect people like me.	.49	.15	.03	.49
Factor 2 Entertainment and/or social utility				
Because it is entertaining	.02	.66	.03	.03
To enjoy the excitement of the reading different viewpoints	.04	.77	.04	.07
To give me something to talk about with others	.22	.58	.01	.09
Because it is exciting	.19	.59	.39	.22
To use as ammunition in arguments with others	.18	.55	.03	.29
Because it helps me relax	.03	.58	.04	.22
To remind me of my protagonists strongest points	.44	.55	.29	.08
Factor 3 Convenience				
To access information quickly	.03	.02	.74	.29
Because information is easy to obtain	.22	.01	.75	.17
To see how protagonists stand on issues	.31	.12	.61	.01
To access information from home	.28	.01	.59	.39
Factor 4 Information seeking				
To find specific information that I am looking for	.06	.04	.21	.65
To keep up with main issues of the day	.21	.19	.01	.71
To access information at any time.	.21	.19	.39	.51
Eingevalue	7.3	4.2	3.9	2.7
Variance explained	35.2	27.4	11.8	10.6
Reliability	.89	.77	.83	.69

strongest reason for reading hate speech comments. Lastly, locating specific information was the weakest motivator for reading hate speech comments (Table 2).

Motivations for Reading Online Hate Speech Comments and Demographics

The relationship between reasons for reading online hate speech comments and demographics, the strength party affiliation, and Internet’s use is the focus of the second research question. Education was the strongest demographic correlation. It was significantly and negatively associated with guidance (r = -.28, $p < .001$), entertainment and/or social utility (r = -.23, $p < .001$), convenience (r = -0.26, $p < .001$) and information seeking (r = -.18, $p < .01$), suggesting that people with a lower level of education were more likely to read hate speech online comments.

Age was significantly and negatively related to all motivations for reading online hate speech comments for guidance (r = -.16 $p < .001$), entertainment and/or social utility (r = -.30, $p < .001$), convenience (r = -.32,

Table 3: Correlation between Motivations for Reading Online Hate Speech Comments, and Demographics, Strength of Party Affiliation, and Internet Use (n = 387):
Tabela 3: Korelacija med Motivi za branje spletnih komentarjev s sovražnim govorom, Demografijo, Močjo strankarske pripadnosti in Uporabo interneta (n = 378):

Reading hate speech motivations correlates (r)	Guidance	Entertainment and/or social utility	Convenience	Information seeking
Gender	-.21***	-.28***	-.25***	-.21***
Age	-.16***	-.30***	-.32***	-.13***
Income	-.03	-.06	-.08	-.05
Education	-.28***	-.23***	-.26***	-.18**
Time spent using the Internet	.05	.08	.03	.03
Number of online activities	.27**	.21*	.02*	.04*
Strength of party affiliation	.38***	.35***	.32***	.31***

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

$p < .001$) and information seeking (r = -.13, $p < .001$). Younger respondents were more likely to read online hate speech comments especially for reasons of entertainment and/or social utility and convenience (Table 3).

The results also showed that the respondent's gender was correlated negatively with all motivations of reading hate speech online comments. The males were more likely to read hate speech online comments because of guidance (r = -0.21, $p < .001$), entertainment and/or social utility (r = -.28, $p < .001$), convenience (r = - .25, $p < .001$) and information seeking (r = -21, $p < .001$) than females.

Motivations for Reading Online Hate Speech Comments and Strength of Party Affiliation

Strength of party affiliation was the variable with the strongest positive correlation to all motivations for reading online hate speech comments. If people were strongly motivated to read online hate speech comments when seeking information, it would be expected that their levels of strength of party affiliation would increase. Levels of strength of party affiliation were significantly and strongly correlated with all motivations of reading the hate speech online comments: guidance (r = 0.38, $p < .001$), entertainment/social utility (r = 0.35, $p < .001$), convenience (r = 0.32, $p < .001$), information seeking (r = 0.31, $p < .001$).

Motivations for Reading the Online Hate Speech Comments and Internet Experience

In this study, Internet experience is measured by accounting for both the Internet use periods and the number of online activities that respondents performed regularly. The respondents' periods of Internet use were positively but not significantly associated with all motivations (Table 3).

The number of online activities were positively correlated with all motivations for reading online hate speech comments and were significantly correlated with reading the hate speech comments for entertainment and/or social utility (r = .21, $p < .05$) reasons and for guidance purposes (r = .27, $p < .05$). The number of online activities were weakly correlated with reading the hate speech comments for convenience (r = .02, $p < .05$) and information seeking (r = .04, $p < .05$) (Table 3).

Predictors of Motivations for Using the Internet

The third research question relates to whether demographics, strength of party affiliation, periods spent using the Internet, and number of online activities could predict the motivations for reading hate speech comments. The strength of party affiliation and Internet experience, but not demographics, were the strongest predictors of motivations for reading hate speech comments.

The strength of party affiliation (ß = .31, $p < .01$) was positively correlated with guidance. The likelihood that readers would read online hate speech comments for guidance increased commensurately with the Internet's influence on the strength of party affiliation (Table 4).

The strength of party affiliation and the number of online activities were the only two significant predictors of reading hate speech comments for entertainment and/or social utility (ß = .21, $p < .05$; ß = .19, $p < .01$). The respondents who felt that their involvement in politics increased were more likely to seek hate speech reader comments for entertainment. Additionally, the likelihood of readers reading hate speech comments for entertainment and social reasons increased commensurately with the increased number of online activities that readers engaged in regularly (Table 4).

The time spent on online activities was a significant predictor of and was positively correlated reading hate speech comments for reasons of convenience (ß = .13,

Table 4: Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Predictors of Reading Online Hate Speech Comments (n = 387):
Tabela 4: Hierarhična regresijska analiza prediktorjev branja spletnih komentarjev s sovražnim govorom (n = 378):

Predictor variables	Guidance	Entertainment and/or social utility	Convenience	Information seeking
Gender	.01	-.09	.09	-.07
Age	-.19	-.10	-.05	-.15
Income	.05	.06	-.09	.07
Education	.08	.07	-.01	.08
Time of Internet use	.18	-.11	.13***	.30***
Number of online activities	.02	.19**	.19	.09
Strength of party affiliation	.31**	.21*	.18	.21*
R^2	.23	.24	.21	.22
Adjusted R	.21	.20	.20	.21
Significance	.000	.000	.000	.000

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

$p < .001$). This indicates that readers who spent lengthier periods using the Internet were more likely to read hate speech comments for convenience (Table 4).

The periods spent using the Internet and the strength of party affiliation were significant predictors of reading hate speech when readers were motivated to seek information. Periods spent using the Internet were positively correlated with information seeking (ß = .30, $p < .001$), indicating that readers who spent greater periods on the Internet, were more likely to read hate speech comments for information. Those readers who were strongly party affiliated read hate speech comments for information (ß = .21, $p < .05$) (Table 4).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Past studies examined all components of hate speech comments that were published under online news, but not the reasons why audiences read them. This study constitutes an attempt to fill this research gap. Whereas hate speech messages are more numerous in online reader comments than in written letters to the editor (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012a, 2012b; Motl, 2010), analyzing the motivation for reading online hate speech comments is necessary.

This study showed that 387 respondents were motivated to read hate speech comments for guidance, entertainment and/or social utility, convenience, and information seeking reasons. Guidance was the primary motivation for reading hate speech comments, suggesting that respondents trusted the producers of comments sufficiently to rely on their advice. Thus, respondents found hate speech comments reliable and trustworthy, even though their authors were anonymous, because readers trusted specific online news sites. Research on the characteristics of writers of hate speech comment showed that they wrote comments only on the news sites that they trusted (Erjavec, Poler Kovačič, 2012b).

Convenience emerged as a week motivator for reading hate speech comments, which could indicate that readers might be seeking information on other media platforms. However, they remained loyal to specific online news sites.

Those who conducted a greater number of online activities read hate speech comments for entertainment and/or social utility. Comments have benefit of real time and interpersonal exchange. In addition, You and colleagues (2011) found that reading the comments that are published below news texts could be substantially motivated by the need for entertainment.

This study also includes an examination how the strength of party affiliation influences the motivations for reading online hate speech comments. Strong party affiliation was strongly correlated to all motivations for reading hate speech comments. Online hate speech comments attract greater numbers of politically affiliated people. Indeed, hate speech online comments might catalyze a greater involvement in politics.

The results also revealed that the respondent's age, education, and gender were negatively correlated with all motivations for reading online hate speech comments. Males were the most likely to read hate speech comments than females were. Similarly, You and colleagues (2011) also found that males were more likely to write and read comments below online news texts then females were. Pedersen and MacAfee's (2007), whose findings could be used to explain this phenomenon, found that males concentrate on information and have a higher preference for anonymity, whereas females prioritize personal contact and focus on the social aspects.

The younger respondents were more likely to read comments than the older respondents were for all mo-

tivations. In addition, You and colleagues (2011) found that younger research participants were more likely to write and read comments than the older participants were. The reason for this could lie in the difference between young people who grew up surrounded by digital technologies and who are comfortable with their technological properties and those people who turned to Web 2.0 applications in later in life (Haferkamp, Krämer, 2008).

Income was not significantly related to the motivations for reading hate speech comments. This could be explained by the relative economic egalitarianism, which, for decades, was described by the distribution and redistribution of income in Slovenia (Malnar, 2011). In the previous century and in recent years, income was distributed uniformly and, therefore, it did not represent a key element of differentiation.

Education played a more substantial role. People with lower levels of education were more likely to read hate speech comments for guidance, entertainment and/or social utility, convenience, and information seeking. This phenomenon could be explained by the finding that intellectual development is significantly related to levels of prejudice toward minor social groups (Chickering, Reisser, 1993).

The strength of party affiliation was a predictor of reading hate speech comments for all motivations, except for convenience. The periods spent using the Internet positively predicted whether the respondents read hate speech comments. Those respondents who spent greater periods using the Internet read hate speech for convenience and when seeking information. Those how conducted a greater amount of online activities read hate speech because it was convenient and entertaining. No demographic variables were predictors of reading hate speech comments.

In addition, I should highlight the limitations of this study. Despite the fact that the questionnaire included a definition of hate speech, respondents might have used their own definition of hate speech or responded to motivations for reading all comments, and not just those including hate speech messages. Kaye and Johnson (2004) also emphasized that, even though researchers recognize online surveys as an effective method for collecting data, they still present a unique set of challenges and limitations that arise from the absence of a random selection. In situations where random probability sampling is not possible, such as with the Internet, a probability sampling is acceptable (Babbie, 1990) and commonly used when posting an online survey (Kaye, Johnson, 2004). Careful uses of this type of purposive sampling generates results that might be representative of a specific subset of Internet users, but might not of the larger population (Babbie, 1990).

Although I cannot generalize this study's findings to the readers of online hate speech comments at large, this study does offer an insight into the online behaviors of readers of hate speech comments. In future studies, researchers could perhaps design a method where they could identify, randomly select, and solicit readers to complete their surveys through e-mail (Kaye, Johnson, 2004). In the future, motivations for reading hate speech comments could be derived from open-ended responses rather than from those found in other studies, and could include a question about the readers' definition of hate speech.

BRALCI SPLETNIH NOVIČARSKIH KOMENTARJEV: ZAKAJ BEREJO KOMENTARJE S SOVRAŽNIM GOVOROM?

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POVZETEK

Ker so obstoječe študije proučevale vse prvine diskurza komentarjev s sovražnim govorom, objavljenih pod spletnimi novinarskimi prispevki, razen motivov za branje, skuša ta študija zapolniti raziskovalno vrzel. Anketiranih je bilo 378 bralcev komentarjev s sovražnim govorom, da bi ugotovili, zakaj bralci brejo komentarje s sovražnim govorom. Študija temelji na pristopu uporabe in zadovoljitve. Rezultati kažejo, da anketiranci berejo spletne komentarje s sovražnim govorom zaradi usmeritve, zabave / druženja, udobnosti in iskanja informacij. Iskanje nasveta je bil glavni motiv za branje spletnih komentarjev s sovražnim govorom. Rezultati so tudi pokazali, da so anketirančeva starost, izobrazba in spol negativno povezani z vsemi motivi branja komentarjev s sovražnim govorom. Bolj verjetno

je, da moški berejo komentarje s sovražnim govorom kot ženske. Mlajši anketiranci bolj verjetno berejo komentarje s sovražnim govorom kot starejši zaradi vseh analiziranih razlogov. Nižje izobraženi posamezniki bolj verjetno berejo spletne komentarje s sovražnim govorom kot bolj izobraženi. Prihodek anketirancev ni statistično značilno povezan z motivi branja komentarjev s sovražnim govorom. Tisti, ki opravijo več spletnih dejavnosti, preberejo tudi več komentarjev s sovražnim govorom. Ta študija je tudi preučevala, kako je strankarska pripadnost povezana z motivi branja komentarjev s sovražnim govorom. Komentarji s sovražnim govorom bolj privlačijo bralce z močno strankarsko pripadnostjo.

Ključne besede: internet, občinstvo, sovražni govor, bralci spletnih komentarjev, motivi, pristop prednostnega tematiziranja.

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KEEPING HATE SPEECH AT THE GATES: MODERATING PRACTICES AT THREE SLOVENIAN NEWS WEBSITES

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ABSTRACT

The study explores the decision-making rationale of news websites' moderators who keep hate speech at the gates by reviewing and selecting users' comments for publication under news items. By using document analysis, newsroom observations and interviews, the study indicates a combination of traditional and network gatekeeping at three leading Slovenian news websites. The adopted minimal measures for regulating hate speech at 24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si and their various gatekeeping mechanisms call for reconsideration of some central issues in contemporary social communication: the gatekeeping model and technological innovation as well as multivalent roles of news media in public life.

Keywords: *online users' comments, hate speech, gatekeeping, self-regulation, journalism, Slovenia.*

MANTENERE DISCORSO INCITANTE ALL'ODIO ALLE PORTE: PRATICHE DI MODERAZIONE DI TRE SITI DI NEWS SLOVENI

SINTESI

La ricerca esplora la logica e motivazioni dietro le decisioni di moderatori dei siti di news che tengono discorso incitante all'odio alle porte tramite il selezionamento di commenti da pubblicare nella sezione notizie. Usando analisi di documenti, osservazioni nella redazione, e interviste, la ricerca identifica la combinazione di gatekeeping tradizionale e quello di rete di tre principali siti di news Sloveni. Le minime misure adottate per regolare il discorso incitante all'odio di siti 24ur.com, Siol.net, e Rtvslo.si e i loro meccanismi di gatekeeping invitano alla riconsiderazione di alcuni temi centrali alla comunicazione sociale contemporanea; cioè il modello di gatekeeping e innovazioni tecnologiche, cosi come i vari ruoli di news media nella vita pubblica.

Parole chiave: *commenti degli utenti online, discorso incitante all'odio, gatekeeping, auto-regolamentazione, giornalismo, Slovenia.*

INTRODUCTION

Comments under news items on news websites are the most popular as well as the most controversial form of audience participation (Ruiz et al., 2011). On the one hand, they provide an opportunity for citizens to engage in a public debate about relevant issues, on the other hand they represent an arena where hatred and offence can easily be expressed and disseminated. Previous studies of hate speech on the Internet mostly focused on monitoring, tracking and regulating hate speech (e.g., Nemes, 2002; Harris et al., 2009; Henry, 2009; Reed, 2009). Several studies analysed discourse in hate group websites (e.g., Duffy, 2003; Brown, 2009; Cammaerts, 2009; Meddaugh & Kay, 2009; McNamee, 2010), including people's perceptions of hate sites (Leets, 2001), while the problem of hate speech in news comments has mostly been neglected, as have the moderating practices. Investigating dynamics between regulatory structure and gatekeeping agency in the context of hate speech in users' comments is relevant because it helps to identify the institutionalised boundaries of meaningful interaction online, character of journalist-audience relations and possibilities for deliberation on websites of traditional media.

Some authors researched comments' effects on readers (e.g., Lee, 2012), the problem of commenters' anonymity (e.g., Hlavach & Freivogel, 2011; Rosenberry, 2011; Shepard, 2011; Reader, 2012) and journalists' views on news comments (e.g., Singer et al., 2011; Santana, 2011; Nielsen, 2012; Loke, 2012), while others were concerned with other forms of inappropriate speech in news comments, such as offensive speech (Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2013) or impolite reader responses (Neurauter-Kessels, 2011). Only a few analysed characteristics of hate speech in news comments (e.g., Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012) or explored it as an ethical issue in journalism (Singer et al., 2011). Media rules about hate speech comments (as part of general media guidelines of audience participation) were also given only scarce attention (e.g., Ruiz et al., 2011; Singer et al., 2011), as well as media strategies of online content moderation (e.g., Reich, 2011; Hughey & Daniels, 2013). However, the rationale behind winnowing, reshaping or prodding user-generated content, also in regards to hate speech, has not yet been researched, as previous studies on transformations of gatekeeping in journalism (e.g., Lowery, 2009; Singer & Ashman, 2009; Barlow, 2010; Reich, 2011) predominantly focused on the power struggle in journalist-audience relations. Therefore, the goal of this study is to explore the decision-making rationale of news websites' moderators who review and select users' comments for publication under news items.

The study is placed at the intersection of the classical debates on freedom of the press and freedom of expression (e.g., Splichal, 2003), and discussions on the challenges to journalism's gatekeeping role in contemporary online communication contexts (e.g., Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). In this context, moderating users' comments and keeping hate speech at the gates is relevant for the discussions on what Carpentier (2011, 30) calls "socio-communicative relationships" within the social, technological and institutional predispositions, enabling joint content production and mutual reception online as well as the character of interactions in the public sphere. Thus, the study theoretically and empirically investigates the online media (self-)regulation framework with respect to users' comments and respectively practices of moderating hate speech in order to better understand the mechanisms behind gatekeeping in contemporary online communication.

The research combines methods of semi-structured interviews with comment moderators and editors at the three most visited Slovenian news websites (24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si), observation in the newsrooms and analysis of strategic documents on moderating online users' comments.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: MODERATING ONLINE USERS' HATE SPEECH COMMENTS

Online Media (Self-)Regulation Framework

Freedom of the press and freedom of expression are considered cornerstones of modern democracy (e.g., Splichal, 2003). In democratic societies, which are embedded in the tradition of social responsibility (Cammaerts, 2005), freedom is never boundless; it is treated as inseparable from responsibility. The goal of moderating comments, that is, "deleting or blocking those deemed offensive or unsuitable" (Goodman, 2013, 8), is to restore appropriate balance between freedom and responsibility and thus, to ensure a high quality of discussion since comments can impact the way that a news item is interpreted by readers. According to Anderson et al. (2014, 383), online incivility may impede the goal of enriching public deliberation; impolite and incensed comments can polarise users based on value predispositions. Users' comments significantly alter readers' perceptions of an issue, independently or in conjunction with other factors (Lee, 2012, 32). Therefore, hate speech comments can cause damage.

The purpose of regulating hate speech is to prevent interference with human rights and values, such as dignity, non-discrimination, equality, (effective) participation in public life, freedom of expression, association, or religion, and to prevent the occasioning of certain harms, such as psychological harm, damage to self-esteem, inhibited self-fulfilment, or fear (McGonagle, 2013, 6). However, this purpose cannot be achieved merely through legal regulations as laws cannot guarantee responsibility and quality in the media (see Bertrand, 1997, 12). Media self-regulation is essential because it helps to preserve the independence of the media, pro-

tects them from state interference, and drives up professional standards by requiring organisations to think about and develop their own standards of behaviour (Puddephatt, 2011, 12). Among self-regulatory mechanisms, professional codes of conduct are the most common, yet they are difficult to uphold. An important element of self-regulation is the professional guidelines adopted by media organisations as a matter of editorial policy (Puddephatt, 2011, 14), which can cover various issues in more detail. Adopting editorial guidelines on hate speech in comments is useful because they advise readers as well as guide and defend the moderation process; while some guidelines are rules about what readers cannot do, others offer more constructive advice for writing appropriate comments and articulating arguments (Goodman, 2013, 29).

In Slovenia, any incitement to national, racial, religious or other discrimination, the inflaming of national, racial, religious or other hatred and intolerance, and any incitement to violence and war, is prohibited by the constitution (DZ RS, 1991, Article 63). The Criminal Law (DZ RS, 2012, Article 297) prescribes imprisonment for whoever publicly incites or stirs up hatred, violence or intolerance based on nationality, race, religion, ethnicity, gender, etc., and the act is committed in a way that threatens or disturbs public order and peace, or by means of threats or insults. The editor-in-chief, or a person acting as his/her deputy, can also be punished if a criminal offence has been committed through the mass media. In the Mass Media Act, there is a provision which prohibits the dissemination of programmes that incite national, racial, religious, sexual or any other inequality, or violence and war, or incite national, racial, religious, sexual or any other hatred and intolerance (DZ RS, 2006, Article 8).

Hate speech is considered unacceptable by media self-regulatory guidelines too. According to the Code of Slovenian Journalists, "inciting violence, spreading hatred and intolerance and other forms of hate speech are inadmissible. A journalist should not allow them; if this is not possible, he/she should immediately react and condemn them" (DNS & SNS, 2010, Article 21). The code also states that the editor-in-chief is responsible for the content of comments and other contributions from media users and should prepare rules for publishing comments; any comment which is not in compliance with the published rules must be deleted as soon as possible (DNS & SNS, 2010, Article 16).

In 2010, eight Slovenian online media organisations (Delo.si, Dnevnik.si, MMC, Siol.net, Vecer.com, Zurnal24.si, 24ur.com and Slovenskenovice.si) signed the Code for Regulation of Hate Speech in Slovenian Web Portals (SAFE, 2010/11). The Code, which has been prepared by the Centre for Safer Internet and its anti-hate speech internet point, the Web Eye, obliges the signatories to introduce registration of commenters as well as a system of content moderation. Web portals should include a warning that hate speech is against the Criminal Law and include a button to report hate speech comments. The Web Eye has also published a manual for moderators and editors of websites (Spletno oko, 2013).

Signatories of the Code for Regulation of Hate Speech in Slovenian Web Portals have morally bound themselves to respect legal provisions and ethical norms which prohibit hate speech. However, it has not yet been researched whether (and how) the code has been implemented in their media practices. If signing the code can be understood as the first step to regulating hate-speech on their sites, the second step should be adopting internal guidelines in line with the code. Therefore, our first research question is:

How is regulation of online users' hate speech comments under news items defined in strategic documents of Slovenian online media?

Online Media Moderating Practices and the Concept of Gatekeeping

In the traditional journalistic culture, the term gatekeeper indicates editors' and journalists' claim to be the ones who decide what makes news. The gatekeeper role is maintained and enforced by professional routines and conventions which are to guarantee the quality of institutional journalism (Domingo et al., 2008, 326). However, new possibilities of audience participation through the media present a challenge for the traditional gatekeeping of media and journalists. Namely, moderating users' comments is not a unilateral process as these threads are more inclusive communication spaces than traditional participatory channels, such as letters to the editor (e.g., Thurman, 2008; Reich, 2011). The latter were editorially governed by "journalistic logic", while users' comments are governed by "broader social standards" such as considerations of decency, civility, taste and legality (Reich, 2011, 97). In this context, the notion of gatekeeping calls for precise conceptual work to be used as a tool for analysis and understanding of the practices of moderating online users' comments. Specifically, it appears that moderating users' comments rests at the intersection of two debates on the transformations of gatekeeping in the media.

One group of scholars (e.g., Hermida, 2010; Bruns, 2009, 2011; Broersma & Graham, 2012; Graham et al., 2013) discusses gatekeeping in the context of larger alterations in communication where journalists are disappearing as "traditional gatekeepers of political discourse" (Graham et al., 2013, 85). While "people formerly known as the audience" are assuming more active roles in creating news and facilitating public debate, they are able to bypass traditional media when trying to link to political life (cf. Rosen, 2012). For instance, concepts such as "audience gatekeeping" (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009), "gatewatching" (Bruns, 2011) and "gatekeeping Twitter" (Bastos et al., 2013) indicate that jour-

nalists are losing gatekeeping privileges and that power is being dispersed among various actors in contemporary communication.

The other group of studies (e.g., Thurman, 2008; Thurman & Hermida, 2010; Reich, 2011; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Thurman & Newman, 2014) puts the contemporary gatekeeping transformations in the context of the newsroom. Although Boczkowski (2004) acknowledged the phenomenon of "gate-opening" a decade ago, these studies show that journalism is still not fully inclined to relinquish their gatekeeping role by sharing the stage with the heterogeneous network of news gatherers and commenters. In this context, journalists have started to rethink the services they provide to the public. As a result, journalists are increasingly adopting the "curator role" (e.g., Bruns, 2011; Pöttker, 2012) in order to overcome the monolithic character of traditional news provision, to adapt to the multi-perspectivity of the contemporary news environment, and to distinguish themselves from other actors while the gates are half-open.

Thereafter, as the phenomenon of users' comments merges, the solid logic of traditional media, with the always-on presence of online communication threads, would suggest that the "network gatekeeping model", introduced by Barzilai-Nahon (2008), is a useful conceptual framework. By considering "ambient awareness" of contemporary communication (Kuwabara et al., 2002) where journalism – through its interactive websites and online social networks – is constantly connected with audiences, Barzilai-Nahon (2008, 1496–1497) adapts the gatekeeping framework by adding new terms and redefining traditional ones: (1) *gate*, i.e. entrance to or exit from a network or its threads; (2) *gatekeeping*, i.e. the process of controlling information (e.g., selection, addition, withholding, display, channelling, shaping, integration, disregard and deletion) as it moves through a gate; (3) *gated*, i.e. the entity subjected to gatekeeping; (4) *gatekeeping mechanism*, i.e. a tool, technology, or method used to carry out the process of gatekeeping that defines the interactions between gated and gatekeepers bounding them to a particular structure of discourse; (5) *gatekeeper*, i.e. an entity that has the discretion to exercise gatekeeping through a gatekeeping mechanism and can choose the extent to which to exercise it contingent upon the gated.

Traditional media have adopted different strategies to deal with news comments which affect human dignity – from turning them off or not archiving them to requiring registration and moderating them in different ways (e.g., Hermida & Thurman, 2007; Reich, 2011; Hughey & Daniels, 2013; Goodman, 2013). Research of news websites in the UK found that media are increasingly shifting towards moderating user-generated contents; more than two-thirds of the sites moderate comments, while those that do not, require registration (Hermida & Thurman, 2007, 9). According to a survey of media from 63 countries, only seven organisations do not allow comments, while 38 moderate pre-publication, 42 moderate post-publication, and 16 use a mixed approach (Goodman, 2013, 7). Similarly, an international comparative study (Reich, 2011, 113) reveals that news websites developed two main strategies of moderation: "interventionist strategy" of pre-moderation of every comment despite heavy financial tolls, and "autonomous strategy" of post-moderation as a response to the flood of comments. In Slovenia, on the basis of interview data, Motl's (2009) research of editorial policies at six online media organisations revealed diverse approaches to hate speech regulation. However, the study neglected to consider the practice of moderation with respect to the mechanisms (i.e., tools, technology and methods), implying particular moderator-user interactions and negotiation of users' comments as a particular communication space. To get such a comprehensive insight into Slovenian news websites' moderation of users' comments, particularly regarding hate speech, our second research question is:

How is moderating of users' comments manifested at Slovenian news websites in regards to the main gatekeeping mechanisms?

METHODS

To explore the decision-making rationale of Slovenian news websites' moderators, who moderate comments published under news items, three methods were combined. The subjects of the research were the three most visited Slovenian news websites (24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si) (MOSS, 2013), which are also signatories to the Code for Regulation of Hate Speech in Slovenian Web Portals (SAFE, 2010/2011).

According to the code (ibid.), the signatories are obliged to require registration for commenters and to moderate their contents. Submitting comments should be carried out through a form which contains a clear provision that Criminal Law (Article 297) prohibits public incitement of hatred, violence or intolerance based on nationality, race, religion, ethnicity, gender, etc. In the comments section, a "report hate speech" button should be included for anonymous reporting of hate speech. Guidelines in this code provide the minimal level of measures for regulating hate speech on web portals, while the signatories can also adopt additional measures. To answer the first research question and thus establish what regulations of hate speech comments have been adopted by the code's signatories, an analysis of the main documents that formalise rules for publishing comments at the three news websites was performed. Document analysis can be defined as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents which, like other analytical methods in qualitative research, requires data to be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009, 27).

In order to explore the second research question, from March to May 2014 we conducted observations at 24ur.com, Rtvslo.si and Siol.net. By focusing on gaining an insider's look into what gatekeeping mechanisms are used by the moderators and how processes of reaching and making moderating decisions are negotiated, we entered the small-scale institutional setting for 10 work shifts (four at Rtvslo.si and 24ur.com; two at Siol.net) and took the role of "observers-as-participants" (Gold, 1958). Thus, in the field, we were known and recognised as we related to the subjects on the field solely as researchers. Due to the rather brief observation periods, we had to be systematic in gathering, assembling and analysing directly witnessed data (cf. Neuman, 2006). The first step of the process was to set down what was experienced, based on full field notes containing memos and notes taken in the newsroom. The second step was detached from the field and done after the observation, when we compared what was observed that day to what had been previously observed, and arranged data within an observational scheme organised according to the second research question. The third stage was done after the observations, when we started to conceptually analyse the collected data and to synthesise data from the field within the study's framework.

Additionally, in May 2014 we made qualitative interviews with a total seven moderators from 24ur.com, Rtvslo.si and Siol.net and their online executive editors in order to gain their perspectives on moderating through explanations, stories and accounts, as well as to acquire comments on observational data (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The semi-structured conversations were based on the interview guide, but simultaneously they were open to allow new ideas to be brought up during the interviews (Morse, 2012). We used three types of questions for these particular research purposes (Legard et al., 2003; Flick, 2006; Wang & Yan, 2012). Content-mapping questions were used to start the conversation on the topic rather loosely, i.e. questions on their moderating experiences and working routines. Then we asked theory-driven questions based on the study's conceptual framework, i.e. questions through which mechanisms of gatekeeping hate speech are reconsidered. Finally, the content-mining questions responded to the notions the interviewee had presented up to that point in order to critically re-examine them, i.e. questions on discrepancies and connections between formalised rules and moderating mechanisms. After all interviews were conducted, we applied McCracken's (1988) five-step process of qualitative interview analysis. Through careful reading, preliminary descriptive and interpretative categories were made. Later, with thorough examination of these codes, connections and patterns in the narratives were identified. Further, by examining clusters of comments, the analysis involved a determination of basic themes. Lastly, we examined themes from all interviews across such groupings to delineate predominant ones in relation to the second research question.

RESULTS

Regulation of Hate Speech Comments in Online Media Strategic Documents

Analysis of strategic documents which regulate websites' content at 24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si shows that all three media have adopted the minimal measures for regulating hate speech, as defined by the Code for Regulation of Hate Speech in Slovenian Web Portals (SAFE, 2010/2011): (1) requiring registration for commenters; (2) moderating comments; (3) submitting comments through a form which contains a clear provision that the Criminal Law (Article 297) prohibits public incitement of hatred, violence or intolerance based on nationality, race, religion, ethnicity, gender, etc.; and (4) a "report hate speech" button in the comments section.

24ur.com. At the news website of the private company, Pro Plus, they have introduced registration for commenters and the moderation of comments. When registering, a user has to agree with the General Terms of Using Web Portals of the Company Pro Plus d. o. o. (Pro Plus, b) which explain that comments are moderated and that decisions regarding enabling comments under particular news items are within the competence of the newsroom. A link to the Rules for Publishing Comments (Pro Plus, a) is part of the general terms, and the link can also be found between each news item and its comments sections. There is also a provision that states that an individual is, according to the Article 297 of the Criminal Law, responsible for public incitement of hatred, violence or intolerance. A "report hate speech" button is placed next to it. By pressing the button, a user anonymously reports hate speech to the Web Eye where they check the comment and report it to the police if it contains elements of criminal offence.

The Rules for Publishing Comments (Pro Plus, a) have been adopted with the intention to provide a positive contribution to public discussion. In most paragraphs, they are a Slovenian translation of the BBC's House Rules. The word "rules" in the text links directly to the BBC rules, yet they are not explicitly cited as the source. Even though the expression "hate speech" is not used, Pro Plus reserves the right to reject comments which could "severely disturb, provoke, attack or offend other users" or "are racist, sexist, homophobic" (Pro Plus, a). Comments are moderated in two ways: (1) post-moderation (all comments appear on the web immediately and are checked afterwards), and (2) reactive moderation (a comment is checked reactively if a complaint has been received about it). If a user notices a comment that may break one of the house rules, he/she can alert moderators on moderator@pop-tv.si. The time needed to review comments depends on the number and length of comments and in most cases takes a few minutes. Sometimes a comment is sent for further review to an editor or members of the newsroom who are in charge

of moderation. If a comment is removed, the commenter is notified by email. A user's account can also be blocked for a period of one month. In extreme cases of racist, sexist, homophobic, offensive or otherwise objectionable contents, an account can be immediately and permanently closed. According to the rules, moderation is performed by a team of trained moderators, and a comment is never removed without being read and reviewed by a moderator or an editor. However, filters are also used to prevent publication of certain offensive words or to detect comments which may breach the rules. In such a case, a user cannot post his/her comment because it contains problematic keywords.

Siol.net. At the news website of Telekom Slovenije, commenters also need to register to post comments. By registering they bind themselves to an agreement that they will not publish hate speech comments (TSmedia). They can report inappropriate comments by pressing a flag on the right side of a comment or by sending an e-mail to moderator@tsmedia.si. A text titled Commenting and Online Manners at Planet Siol.net is published between each news item and its comments section, and it contains a link to their "rules of commenting", i.e. a document entitled Tolerant and Safe Environment for Discussions Based on Arguments (Planet Siol.net). A provision that Criminal Law (Article 297) prohibits public incitement of hatred, violence or intolerance is also stated there, as well as a link to the editor's column about commenting, addressed to anonymous commenters at Siol.net (Urbas, 2014).

The rules of Planet Siol.net aim to provide readers with a tolerant and cultural environment for discussing topics related to news items. They explain the system of deleting inappropriate comments and restricting access to posting comments. Moderation is performed both through computers, by considering different algorithms, and manually. Comments can be placed in a waiting queue and remain there for different periods of time, depending on the number of comments. The rules also provide recommendations for tolerant communication, including a statement that hate speech, both direct and covert, has no place on their forum since critiques of an organisation, an individual or a group can be expressed without attacks and hatred. According to the document, any hate speech in any form will not be allowed. Those who repeatedly breach the rules will lose access to commenting temporarily or permanently; in the case of "extreme hate speech", this measure is carried out without prior e-mail notification.

Rtvslo.si. At the news website of the public broadcaster, Radio-Television Slovenia, they have also established a system of registration and moderation. A "report hate speech" button is placed between a news item and its comments section. When pressing the button, a document opens which contains a provision that an individual is, according to Article 297 of the Criminal Law, responsible for public incitement of hatred, violence or intolerance. It is an anonymous report, sent to the Web Eye. There is also a link to the Standards and Rules of Communication on the Website Rtvslo.si (Rtvslo.si, 2014), accompanied by an explicit request to respect these rules and not to use hate speech.

When registering, a user has to confirm that he/she agrees with these rules, and that he/she is aware that hate speech is forbidden by the constitution and legislation in Slovenia. According to the document (Rtvslo.si, 2014), users' comments are published directly and are not pre-moderated. Users who seriously or frequently violate the rules or intentionally ignore them can be warned by administrators, they can be put under supervision or their username can be blocked. An administrator has the right to remove a comment which violates the rules.

Moderating Hate Speech Comments on News Websites

Observations of moderating practices and interviews with moderators and online executive editors acknowledge gatekeeping mechanisms (i.e., tools, technology and methods) that define live interactions between moderators (the gatekeepers) and users (the gated), bounding them to a particular structure of online discourse. According to the interviewees, moderating hate speech indicates primary mechanisms of moderators' gatekeeping of users' comments. 24ur.com and Rtvslo.si have teams only for moderating comments, while Siol.net places moderation in the multitasking of online executive editor's deputy and one online journalist. At all three websites, they perform automated moderation, post-moderation and reactive moderation. Only Rtvslo.si, in the case of users "under control", pre-moderates all their comments. The following dissects seven mechanisms of keeping hate speech at the gates of the respective online media in regards to slightly distinct technology and methods, particularly negotiated gatekeeper-gated relations and different understandings of users' comments as a particular communication space.

Disabling comments. According to gathered data, the three media disable users' comments in order to limit the communication space for anticipated hate-speech or to "stop the floods of hatred" (moderator Rtvslo.si A).

During observations and interviews with 24ur.com, moderators stress they "anticipate hate speech under certain content" (moderator 24ur.com A). "When there is news on Roma or, recently, on sexual assaults in India, I go to the editor and ask to close comments for such an item. Comments otherwise lose their prime purpose – discussing and expressing opinion." (ibid.) Siol.net disables comments not before a certain news item is published but two days after – when its "lifespan" supposedly ends (online executive editor Siol.net). "That is also because we have a small team that is not completely dedicated to moderating. I have other tasks as an editor and it happens that I can overlook something." (moderator Siol.net A)

Yet, at Rtvslo.si moderators and editors agree that "conflicting topics" (moderator Rtvslo.si B) are good opportunities to present their hate speech moderating practices and educate moderators. However, during one of the observations, the editor decided to disable commenting under the item on setting up a memorial statue for the Slovenian Home-Guards, who were Nazi collaborators during the Second World War. "Only in rare cases do we decide to do that. When there is nothing else but a spitting war full of hatred." (moderator Rtvslo.si B)

Forbidding specific words and phrases. 24ur.com uses a system that disables comments with "forbidden words" (online executive editor 24ur.com) from being published, while Siol.net uses a semantic system that, on the basis of algorithms, "sets the tone for discussing in the community" (moderator Siol.net A). Yet, the interviewees see these automated gatekeeping mechanisms similarly: as "a minor help" (moderator 24ur.com B) and "being easily bypassed" by the users (moderator Siol.net A).

24ur.com moderators have stopped complementing forbidden words with new examples as it appears as a "Sisyphean task" (online executive editor 24ur.com). As examples during observations indicate, users are inventive and they "use spaces, punctuations and numbers to camouflage offensive or hate speech" (moderator 24ur.com B). Furthermore, interviewees agree that mere words do not build meanings, "A certain word or phrase means different things in different contexts. For instance, 'go home' can be an example of hate speech if it is referred to a certain national minority or a completely normal phrase." (moderator 24ur.com C)

Siol.net uses semantics to help moderators by sorting comments with "forbidden words and phrases" into a "pending folder" for pre-moderation (moderator Siol.net A), "This additional sieve learns through time on the basis of moderators' decisions. However, it can be bypassed – some users discuss which words are identified as unsuitable by the system. /…/ Yet, our system is produced by a global provider, therefore it is not adjusted to the Slovenian language, making it a bit clumsy." Rtvslo.si has recently "started to consider the options" (online executive editor Rtvslo.si) of semantic technology.

Winnowing, removing and reshaping comments. When registered users write comments in the management system, go through the gates by publishing them and are only then subjected to moderation. The moderators mostly agree that pre-moderation would be a better way to keep hate speech at the gates, but only in principle. "In practice", says online executive editor 24ur.com, "this would kill interactivity and also demand a larger moderating workforce which we cannot afford". In rare instances moderators at 24ur.com also reshape comments in line with the rules.

At Siol.net, moderators are gatekeeping comments while they perform journalistic or editorial tasks: "I winnow comments on the website on the basis of my feeling – there are themes that I know will spur a lot of problematic comments. These comments are then erased." (moderator Siol.net A) At 24ur.com, they continuously refresh a joint list of newly published comments and by winnowing they decide whether to "accept" or "hide" them. "There are differences among us – others tell me that I am not strict enough. Particularly when it comes to Roma – I have a lot of experience with them. /…/ We try to overcome these differences at our occasional meetings." (moderator 24ur.com C) At Rtvslo.si, moderators combine both practices – they skim through the online news items and simultaneously follow the list of published comments via the management system. "Moderating happens post-festum. Time pressure is something we are used to. /…/ Sometimes, if I overlook a hateful comment, others follow immediately. It's a Sisyphean task." (moderator Rtvslo.si A)

Unlike others at 24ur.com, they reshape comments by replacing signifiers of offensive or hate speech with an asterisk. "When doing that, the meaning should not change. /…/ And also, I do not upset the user as much as I would if I hide the comment – he would write emails or even call and demand an explanation." (moderator 24ur.com B)

(In)direct connecting with users. Observations and interviews reveal indirect and direct gatekeeper-gated connections, which have long-term implications for immediate moderators' decisions and gatekeeping hate speech as a cultural practice at the three websites.

Indirect connections are initiated by moderators as well as users. First, at 24ur.com, each hidden comment results in automated e-mail citing the rules to the user. "We do not send personal e-mails or other messages. They would understand that as provocation and counter-attack. They often respond with aggression already. We do not respond to those e-mails. /…/ Our role is not to educate them." (moderator 24ur.com B) Then, at Siol.net, users connect with moderators through "flagging". "When there is a certain number of flags ticked, a comment goes back to pending – to be moderated again. It is when the community reconnects and excludes a hostile and intolerant user, which is positive." (moderator Siol.net A) Finally, users of the three websites send anonymous reports to Web Eye which then redirects them back to the moderators. "When we started Web Eye, there were many reports. Now they are rare. And most of the reports do not make any sense." (moderator Rtvslo.si C)

Direct connections are also initiated by both groups of actors. For instance, moderators at Rtvslo.si send "personal messages" through the management system to users whose comments have been deleted. "I see this as an opportunity to advise users and improve the culture of commenting – this is important for us as a public service. Most of them understand that. There are others, however, who continue with the hatred." (moderator Rtvslo.si A) Similar connections are initiated by Siol.net moderators, but through e-mails. Further, observations

at the three media organisations show users also try to connect with the moderator signalling hate speech in other users' comments with their comments and also through a "report improper content" tool (at Rtvslo.si).

Supervising users. According to observational and interview data, moderators of the three websites follow some commenters more closely than others, implying that gatekeepers have developed particular relations with the gated. Rtvslo.si places users "under control" formally, while 24ur.com and Siol.net "pay more attention to some commenters" informally (moderator Siol.net A).

Commenters who continue publishing hate speech are being systematically pre-moderated by the gatekeepers, who take "full responsibility" (moderator Rtvslo.si B) for the comments. "This system is great, because some just continue to try publishing unacceptable comments, while some take it seriously and become polite. After a while some, even ask us to stop pre-moderating them. And we do that." (moderator Rtvslo.si C) On the other hand, 24ur.com and Siol.net moderators only "place some users under the magnifying glass" (moderator Siol.net A) and "follow those with whom you have history" (moderator 24ur.com A). At 24ur.com, moderators even stress they are stricter. "Users comment in a particular fashion. You learn whose comments you should hide. I mean, hide all their comments." (moderator 24ur.com A)

Blocking users. Observations and interviews indicate that moderators of the three websites disable commenting rights for the users who continuously use hate speech or otherwise breach the rules. However, they more or less agree that closing the gates for such users is an effective mechanism, but only to a degree because blocked users register once again as a "clone" (moderator Rtvslo.si C), with a different username, e-mail address and dynamic IP.

Interviewed moderators acknowledge blocking a user is a follow-up mechanism of formal or informal user control – some call it a "red card, like in football" (moderator Siol.net A). At Rtvslo.si and Siol.net the moderating system alerts the moderator if a user with the same name or IP as the blocked one tries to register. "Well, this is not completely reliable. A lot of internet users have dynamic IPs. When there is an IP similarity with a blocked user formed a couple of years ago, we do not make trouble." (moderator Rtvslo.si B). However, some moderators see user blockade as "completely useless" (moderator 24ur.com A). For instance, "I do it rarely. I used to block users more. But now I know that they register once again with different credentials and IP. There is no point." (ibid.)

Erasing all comments. While at 24ur.com and Rtvslo.si comments under news items are being archived together with journalistic online content, Siol.net erases all the comments seven days after publication of the news item. Despite being the website's policy, an interviewed online executive editor and a moderator, who is also his deputy, understand this mechanism differently. The former says that "it has nothing to do with the moderating practices" and only with comments "not being historically worthwhile" – "maybe only to researchers" (online executive editor at Siol.net). The latter however stresses that erasure of all comments reflects "the moderating dilemmas that cannot be overcome" (moderator Siol.net A). "When I go back to check the comments again, there are some that I would remove. There is so much news and comments that it is impossible to clean everything. Comments get misjudged and overlooked."

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSSION

By investigating the online media (self-)regulation framework and practices of moderating hate speech in online users' comments, the study indicates a combination of "traditional" (cf. Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) and "network" gatekeeping (cf. Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) at three leading Slovenian news websites. These practices can be identified as initial automated moderation, prevalent post-moderation, occasional reactive moderation and narrowed pre-moderation to construct an enduring online communication space through a dynamic nature of the relationship between moderators (gatekeepers) and online users (the gated). Moreover, the adopted minimal measures for regulating hate speech at 24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si and their various mechanisms of keeping hate speech at the gates, signal the study's multivalent contribution to the existing body of literature. Namely, new conceptual perspectives on gatekeeping and technological innovation and the roles of news media in public life have been gained, while an innovative methodological framework allowed us to gain fresh empirical insights into online users' comments and journalism's moderation.

In terms of the conceptual work, the investigation of moderating users' comments on news websites and keeping hate speech at their gates indicates that interactional features of the digital communication environment open the potential for disruption of one-way and linear journalism-audience communication relations characteristic of the mass media world (e.g., Bruns, 2009; Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Rosenberry & St. John III, 2010; Singer et al., 2011; Jones & Salter, 2012). More specifically, the study of gatekeeping users' comments shows that moderators are "guarding open gates" (Hermida, 2011) in an attempt to ensure responsible behaviour and enhance opportunities for meaningful interaction. This, in many ways, is a Sisyphean task, as also characterised by some interviewees, and indicates what can be conceptualised as a four-way gatekeeping of hate speech that is being articulated in nuanced relations between structures, such as time, financial resources, work organisation and human agency. First, news websites use of technology, disabling comments and/or users as well as automated

rejection of certain expressions help moderators to keep anticipated hate speech away from the gates. Second, news websites control information and interpretation behind the gates through post-moderation, where the gated are welcomed or pushed out of online communication threads. Third, blockade of particular users and rare examples of pre-moderation at one of the websites do not imply only traditional gatekeeping relations, but rather particular gatekeeper-gated connections based on institutional (self-)regulation and moderators' individual experience. Fourth, when a moderator overlooks hate speech or misjudges his decision, comments users alert the gatekeeper to reconsider pushing a certain comment or user back through the gate.

Additionally, the four-way gatekeeping of users' comments, i.e. converging automated, pre-, post- and reactive moderation, also reflect journalism's troubles of (re)engaging with the people to whom they are primarily responsible. This calls for conceptual reconsideration of news media's roles in contemporary social contexts where customisation, multiplication and reinterpretation of news appear as salient trends in communication (cf. Jones & Salter, 2012). Respectively, in the sense of what Dahlgren (2014) calls a "multi-epistemic world", it appears that the classical paradigmatic framework, within which journalism informs and interprets social reality for the people to make judgments about the issues of the day, needs to be reconsidered at the very least. Namely, one can identify an "ambient" character in online communication where "broad, asynchronous, lightweight and always-on" (Hermida, 2010) systems, such as users' comments on news websites, are creating various kinds of interactions around and within the news, and enable citizens to re-develop a complex mental model of the news and commentary. Half-open gates, in the case of hate speech moderation, reflect scrambling the traditional boundaries between journalism and non-journalism, where facts and opinions, debates, gossip, nonsense, misinformation, hatred and insult, the insightful, the deceptive, the poetic, are all mixed together. In this context, journalism needs to ensure high quality discussion by restoring an appropriate balance between freedom and responsibility – only then might journalism overcome the contemporary "crisis of authority" (Gitlin, 2009) and restore its political and cultural relevance in societal life.

From the methodological perspective, the study shows the usefulness of the combination of methods which has not been used in previous research on moderating online users' comments and hate speech. This combination enabled us to get comprehensive insights into the decision-making rationale of news websites' moderators. With document analysis, we identified formal regulatory measures and the embodied social rules, but not necessarily the reasoning behind them. In this context, newsroom observations allowed us to directly witness a work environment where moderators struggle between structural conditions and human agency, enabling us to identify the practical implementation of these measures and also reveal additional gatekeeping mechanisms. Additionally, interviews were used to verify data collected with the previous two methods and, by gathering actors' interpretations of moderating practices, they also appeared useful in the Slovenian ethnographic study, especially in regards to how the abstraction of hate speech shaped moderators' decision-making.

At the empirical level, on the basis of this study one could argue that pre-moderation would eliminate all the problems of keeping hate speech at the gates, although there is no clear evidence of that in previous international comparative research (e.g., Hermida & Thurman, 2007; Reich, 2011; Hughey & Daniels, 2013; Goodman, 2013). While moderating all users' comments before publication would give 24ur.com, Siol.net and Rtvslo.si privileges of traditional gatekeepers, such measures might also deepen other journalistic and business issues of online media that appear across national contexts, also in Slovenia. Namely, narrowing down the possibilities for hate speech normalisation gives space and recognition to more meaningful exchanges, but also raises classical questions of selection criteria and the nature of user incorporation placed at the intersection between "conservatism of journalistic profession" (Waisbord, 2014, 212) and journalism's attempt to serve "as a common forum for debate" (Dahlgren, 2010, 5). In Slovenia, online journalism has been struggling to provide meaningful participatory spaces to retain the role of central information and interpretation by providers (cf. Vobič, 2013), and tightening moderation would thus only deepen the dilemmas between professional control and openness. Simultaneously, tightening online control over the boundaries of discussions demands additional expanses for a larger moderating activity and workforce, which would probably result in a decline of intensity of interactive exchange between media and audiences and a simultaneous fall of frequency in users' online engagement, one of the primary business signifiers of the success of online journalism (Singer et al., 2011). In addition, in the Slovenian context, the approach where every click counts has made the market motive a crucial element in deciding not to have more restrictions on inappropriate speech online (cf. Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012; 2013). Nevertheless, although more gatekeeping control would deepen the dilemmas of (online) journalism in the short term, pre-moderation does not per se exclude positive political and cultural implications for public online reasoning in the long run.

Despite this study's limited scope, the investigation of a (self-)regulation framework and practice of moderating users' comments with a particular focus on hate speech indicates journalism's struggles to cope with inherently transgressive, boundary-breaking and all-eroding social communication and calls for further scholarly attention. Future explorations of journalism's connections with "pe-

ople formerly known as audience" (Rosen, 2012) would benefit from a combination of different standpoints – from theories of the public, critique of the political economy of communication and critical discourse analysis, to identity formation. As such, integrative research attempts in journalism research would need to, first, break down the long-standing boundaries between the journalistic production processes, news as text and discourse, and people's engagement with/through journalism, and second, perform a methodological makeover by borrowing from qualitative and quantitative methodological traditions to gain cross-contextual insights.

ZADRŽEVANJE SOVRAŽNEGA GOVORA NA VRATIH: PRAKSE MODERIRANJA NA TREH SLOVENSKIH NOVIČARSKIH SPLETNIH MESTIH

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POVZETEK

Študija je utemeljena na prepletu klasičnih razprav o svobodi tiska in svobodi izražanja ter diskusij o izzivih odbirateljske vloge novinarstva v sodobnih kontekstih internetnega komuniciranja. Avtorja proučujeta utemeljevanje odločanja moderatorjev na novičarskih spletnih mestih, ki sovražni govor zadržujejo na vratih tako, da komentarje uporabnikov pregledujejo in jih izbirajo za objavo pod spletnimi novicami. Z uporabo analize dokumentov, opazovanj v uredništvih in intervjujev študija prepoznava kombinacijo tradicionalnega in omrežnega odbirateljstva na treh v Sloveniji vodilnih novičarskih spletnih mestih. Trajno internetno komunikacijsko okolje se namreč konstruira skozi izhodiščno avtomatizirano moderacijo, prevladujočo pomoderacijo, občasno odzivno moderacijo in omejeno predmoderacijo, ki nakazuje dinamično naravo odnosov med moderatorji (odbiratelji) in internetnimi uporabniki (odbranimi). To v številnih pogledih Sizifovo delo, kot ga označujejo tudi nekateri intervjuvanci, razkriva štiri načine odbiranja sovražnega govora, ki se artikulirajo v raznolikih odnosih med strukturami, kot so čas, finančna sredstva in organizacija dela, ter človekovo dejavnostjo. Sprejeti minimalni ukrepi za reguliranje sovražnega govora na 24ur.com, Siol.net in Rtvslo.si ter različni odbirateljski mehanizmi zahtevajo vnovičen razmislek o nekaterih osrednjih vprašanjih družbenega komuniciranja, tj. odbirateljskega modela in tehnoloških inovacij ter mnogotere vloge novičarskih medijev v javnem življenju.

Ključne besede: *komentarji internetnih uporabnikov, sovražni govor, odbirateljstvo, samoregulacija, novinarstvo, Slovenija.*

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ONLINE HATE-SPEECH AND ANONYMOUS INTERNET COMMENTS: HOW TO FIGHT THE LEGAL BATTLE IN SLOVENIA?

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to establish, who, according to the Slovenian civil and criminal law, may be liable for damage caused by unlawful commenting resulting in hate speech. To achieve this, remedies available under Slovenian civil and criminal law are analysed and special attention is given the their efficiency in practice. Although legal remedies against hate speech are in line with international standards set by Council of Europe and Court for Justice of the EU, the case law in Slovenia is scarce and expected to even decline due to recent changes in the criminal definition of the offence.

Key words: online hate speech, legal remedies, civil law, criminal law, internet service provider, anonymous internet comments.

CIVILNO IN KAZENSKO PRAVNO VARSTVO PRED SOVRAŽNIM GOVOROM V ANONIMNIH KOMENTARJIH NA INTERNETU V SLOVENIJI

IZVLEČEK

V članku se avtorja ukvarjata z vprašanjem, katere osebe so v slovenskem civilnem in kazenskem pravu odgovorne za škodo, ki nastane s širjenjem sovražnega govora v spletnih komentarjih. Posebno pozornost namenita anonimnim komentarjem, saj v Sloveniji trenutno ni mogoče zahtevati razkritja identitete anonimnega komentatorja za potrebe civilnega postopka. Avtorja ugotavljata, da so kazenskopravni standardi varstva sicer skladni s smernicami Sveta Evrope, vendar pa je v praksi varstvo šibkejše, število obsodb pa bo verjetno v prihodnje še nižje na račun sprememb v pravni kvalifikaciji. Pravnomočnih sodnih odločb v primeru internetnih kršitev je malo, sodna praksa v Sloveniji se šele razvija.

Ključne besede: sovražni govor na internet, pravno varstvo, civilno pravo, kazensko pravo, anonimno spletno komentiranje, ponudniki internetnih storitev.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, apart from being an indispensable tool in business and private life, the Internet has brought along numerous challenges for lawyers (Hoeren, 2014). One of the classical legal issues concerns the limits of the freedom to publish on the Internet. Unfortunately, in Slovenia (and elsewhere in the world) commenting on Internet websites, blogs, forums and social networks is often misused to spread hate speech (Földi, 2012, 8). For lawyers, this phenomenon raises a difficult question of who could and should be held legally accountable for hate speech published by anonymous commentators on the Internet.

Just as any other expression of ideas and views, commenting and "speaking" on the Internet (as a form of freedom of expression) is limited by the fundamental rights of others – right to privacy, reputation and honour, family life... While it was easy to point at the individual "hate speaker" in the old age, when speeches were made on the streets, in the parks, on TV and radio, the Internet's omnipresence combined with numerous opportunities to hide behind anonymity has complicated the process of identification of the commentator (McGonagle, 2013). In addition, most comments are posted on public websites, with the (technical and/or substantive) assistance of web editors, who often encourage and even benefit from the amount of the comments. In this complex environment, the legal battle is one of the many to be fought.

It is undisputed that the primary responsibility for the unlawful content is borne by the authors (commentators) themselves. However, as it is currently almost impossible to identify the anonymous authors of comments on the Internet (Földi, 2012, 8), it is, for the protection of the victims, even more important to establish the potential liability of other persons enabling, promoting or benefiting from comments posted on the web: web editors, publishers and website owners.

Online hate speech has been a subject of a number of recent social studies (Erjavec, 2012; Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012a, 2012b; Milosavljević, 2012; Poler Kovačič & Vobič, 2012). They focus on language and communicational aspects of online hate speech. Neither civil nor criminal liability for online hate speech in Slovenia has yet been a subject of comprehensive and up-to-date legal analysis, although some authors (Teršek, 2008; Krivic, 2012) have tackled specific questions concerning criminal law definition of hate speech. The present article aims to fill this gap in the field of legal issues of online speech. It has to be stressed that legal rules on civil and criminal liability for hate speech have not been subject to any unification, neither within the EU nor within any other international community (McGonagle, 2013, 27). To achieve this, remedies available under Slovenian civil and criminal law will be analysed. In order to examine whether Slovenian law is in line with international standards, the case law of the Court of the EU and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) will be studied. This means that the analysis will be mostly based on Slovenian legal sources, while the comparative data is presented only to show the state of the art developments in comparable legal environments.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HATE SPEECH AND LIABILITY FOR (ANONYMOUS) INTERNET COMMENTS IN LEGAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

Research of online hate speech

Online hate speech has recently been addressed in a study by László Földi for Council of Europe (Földi, 2012). The aim of the study was to detect campaigns against online hate-speech, whereas the legal problems of civil and criminal liability were not addressed. It is interesting to note, however, that the analysis of different (including legal) studies and researches on the topic of online hate-speech showed that

> *there are very few researches and the legal approaches are so different in the European countries that there is no possibility to combat against the spread of extremism or hate. Hate speech does matter, because words have consequences and can lead to violence, but it seems that in Europe it is not a priority at the moment. Most of the studies that have been produced after 2000 were written in the United States and Canada (Földi, 2012, 8).*

In a 2013 expert paper, Tarlach McGonagle also tackled the online hate speech. He mainly focused on international human rights treaty law and put forward a number of recommendations for policy making and future lines of actions (McGonagle, 2013, 35). In addition, he stressed the importance of the legal liability for hate speech online along with its jurisdictional perspective (McGonagle, 2013).

In Slovenia, Teršek (2008) and Krivic (2012) have been writing on legal issues of hate speech definition. They are mostly concerned with the question of relationship (borderline) between freedom of speech and hate speech. This article is not focused on the definition of the hate speech but rather seeks the answer to the question who and why shall bear liability in case of an obvious online hate speech.

Recent research of liability for user generated internet content

The question of who is liable for damage caused by unlawful commenting resulting in hate speech is strongly linked with the general issue of liability for user generated internet content. While there is no specific study

on the liability for hate-speech comments (McGonagle, 2013, 28), numerous authors have been researching the liability of the internet service providers for third party content (Hoeren, 2014, 464). A recent study on national approaches to the liability of internet intermediaries by Ignacio Garrote Fernandez-Diez showed that in the EU, due to the lack of procedures for issuing takedown notices, questions as to when and how intermediaries have knowledge of the alleged act, and then how much time intermediaries have to respond expeditiously to the notice, are the bone of contention among jurisdictions (Fernandez-Diez, 2014).

In other words, the question of civil and criminal liability of intermediaries for the unlawful third party content is far from being uniformly settled. As the focus of this article is to analyse national Slovenian legislation and practice, the direct applicability of the above studies for Slovenia is limited.

METHOD

In order to find out who, according to the Slovenian civil and criminal law, may be held liable for damage caused by online hate speech, international studies, Council of Europe's Acts and domestic criminal and civil legislation will be analysed. To complete the analysis, we shall examine the field legislation governing both civil and criminal liability as well as media and electronic commerce. The most important legal sources include the Slovenian Constitution, Criminal Code, Code of Obligations, Media Act, Electronic Commerce Market Act, Acts of Council of Europe and Directive 2000/31/EC on Electronic Commerce. Because criminal liability is mostly governed by Criminal Code and the relevant Acts of Council of Europe, they will be our primary source in the next chapter. On the other hand, the civil law liability is more complex as it crosses different legal fields: torts, vicarious liability, liability of the Internet intermediaries, which has been subject of harmonisation within the EU. To achieve a reliable result, we will therefore analyse the Code of Obligations, Media Act, Electronic Commerce Market Act and Directive 2000/31/EC on Electronic Commerce. The comprehensive analysis of relevant recent Slovenian case law (both criminal and civil) will be presented. The case law is published in IUS INFO database.

RESULTS

Regulation of Hate Speech in the Acts of Council of Europe

The normative activities of the various bodies of the Council of Europe, as well as the case law of the European Court of Human Rights demonstrate that modern Europe has an ambivalent attitude toward the freedom of expression and its restrictions.

On the one hand, freedom of expression is a fundamental requirement for safeguarding democracy, the rule of law and human rights (Declaration on the freedom of expression and information, 1982) or "one of the basic conditions for its progress and for the development of every man" (ECtHR Judgment in the case of Handyside v. United Kingdom, 1976), which applies "also to those that offend, shock or disturb the State or any sector of the population" (ibid.).

On the other hand, according to some European jurists, the European democratic social order should be protected against the growing threat of "aggressive nationalism […], intolerance or totalitarian ideologies" (Declaration of the heads of state and government of the member states of the Council of Europe, 1993), also by preventing the abuses of freedom of expression posed by hate speech (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Recommendation No. R (97) 20 on »hate speech«, 1997). Or as ECtHR stated in the case of Gündüz v. Turkey (2003): »[T]olerance and respect for the equal dignity of all human beings constitute the foundations of a democratic, pluralistic society. That being so, as a matter of principle it may be considered necessary in certain democratic societies to sanction or even prevent all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance (including religious intolerance), provided that any 'formalities', 'conditions', 'restrictions' or 'penalties' imposed are proportionate to the legitimate aim pursued."

Paradoxically, both the requirement of the need to ensure a broad margin of freedom of expression, as well as the finding that the institutions of a democratic society are not able to defend themselves from racist propaganda without censorship or punishment, have common historical grounds (Macdonald, 1993, 474). The establishment and maintenance of freedom and democracy in society require, on the one hand, enabling generally unrestricted discussion about the events that are important to the public. On the other hand, it is necessary precisely for this reason (i.e. for the protection of a free and democratic society) to prohibit and punish abuses of freedom of expression, opposed to the values on which the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) is founded (Harris, 2009, 443; Macdonald, 1993, 474).

In Recommendation No. R (97) 20 on "Hate Speech", the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe defined hate speech as "all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin."

In its regulatory activities, the bodies of the Council of Europe have focused on preventing the transmission of racist and xenophobic statements over the Internet (see, Convention on Cybercrime 2001; Additional pro-

tocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems, 2003). The Council of Europe calls on European countries to define any dissemination of racist and xenophobic material through the computer systems as a crime in their legal systems.

With the Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law, the EU endeavoured to »further approximat[e] Member States' criminal laws in order to ensure the effective implementation of comprehensive and clear legislation to combat racism and xenophobia« (OJ L 328/55, 2008) with the definition of a common European criminal law approach against racism and xenophobia. The criminal prosecution of the perpetrators of such crimes should be instituted *ex officio*, therefore without regard to the victim's wishes, as victims are especially vulnerable and are opposed to judicial proceedings out of fear.

Since the criminal prosecution of the authors of hate speech interferes with their freedom of expression and since there is a need to ensure a balance between freedom of expression and rights of the protected minorities, only those acts of inciting hatred, violence and intolerance should be incriminated that have been committed in such a way as to threaten or disturb public peace or mean a threat, an abusive remark or an insult. The perpetrators of such crimes should be punished by imprisonment of one to three years.

Regulation of Hate Speech in Slovenian Criminal Law

Hate speech is defined as a crime in Article 297 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Slovenia. It is provided, *inter alia*, that the crime is committed by a perpetrator who publicly provokes or stirs up hatred, strife or intolerance based on nationality, race, religion, ethnicity, gender, descent, financial situation, education, social status, political or other beliefs, disability, sexual orientation, or any other personal circumstances, and the act is committed in such a way as to threaten or disturb public order and peace, or by means of a threat, an abusive remark, or an insult. The perpetrator shall be punished by imprisonment of up to two years.

If the offence has been committed by publication in mass media or on a webpage, the editor or the person acting as the editor shall be sentenced to the punishment referred to in paragraphs 1 or 2 of the same Article, except if it was a live broadcast in which he/she was not able to prevent the offence, or a post on a webpage which enables its users to publish in real time or without prior control.

The new regulation brought some important changes to the earlier criminal law definition of hate speech. Before the amendment, the perpetrator did not have to threaten or disturb public order or peace or to commit the act by means of a threat, an abusive remark, or an insult to commit such a crime. Thus, the current definition of hate speech in the Slovenian Criminal Code was amended in such a way as to be more lenient to the perpetrator.

Another important change in the regulatory framework of the offence of hate speech refers to the manner in which the offence is committed: according to the Criminal Code currently in force, the editor (or deputy editor) of the webpage, which committed the offence shall also be punished. The regulations contain an exhaustive list of exceptions to this rule.

The cited amendment to the Slovenian Criminal Code, which entered into force on 15 May 2012, was clearly adopted on the basis of the aforementioned Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law. As can be seen from a comparison of that Framework Decision and the amendment to the Slovenian Criminal Code, Article 297 of the Slovenian Criminal Code, which is currently in force, contains all the recommendations of the Framework Decision.

In a normative sense, therefore, a criminal law regime of hate speech in Slovenian law is consistent with the Council of Europe's guidelines. We could not find any significant deviations from these guidelines, nor from the case law of the ECtHR, in the modest case law of Slovenian courts on the issue.

Regulation of Liability for Hate Speech in Slovenian Civil Law

In addition to the criminal law, the regulation of civil liability is equally important. It differs from the criminal law regulation in terms of sanctions (usually in the form of damages), legal procedure (proceedings only between the parties, without the prosecutor's office and the police), as well as in the standards of proof and the circle of potentially responsible individuals. A state under the rule of law must ensure that a victim can be granted satisfaction in both criminal and civil proceedings, in the latter claiming damages or other relief.

Unlike in criminal law, it is not possible to institute civil proceedings against an unknown person. Due to a (too) high level of protection of personal data, Slovenian legislation currently does not allow the easy identification of the authors of anonymous posts using the IP address (or other information). Whereas, therefore, in the case of anonymous authors disseminating hate speech identification of the defendant is not possible, or at least not easy, it is important to determine whether other persons (intermediaries) could also be held civilly liable for hate speech. For commenting on the Internet in addition to the author of the post there has to be at least one more person who enables the comment to be posted.

The Civil Liability of the intermediaries (Internet Service Providers) in EU legislation and case law

The role of information society service providers and other intermediaries is not as clear as it is in the traditional media. One has to deal with the editors and owners of websites[1] (e.g. blogs), the editors and moderators of forums, the publishers and editors of online media (online news sites), as well as the persons who enable a comment to be posted in a purely technical way/manner (for example, the owner of the server or the Internet service provider). The specific role of this third-party intermediary can vary quite a bit, ranging from only providing a server (e.g. leasing space on the server on which the comment is posted) without any control over the posted content whatsoever to editing and redacting comments in the same way as in the traditional media – with an editor verifying every text individually and then deciding whether it will be posted in line with editorial policy. Sometimes, the same person may perform several of these different roles.

The key question, therefore, is which of these persons can be (jointly) liable under the rules of civil law for damages due to hate speech from online posts. Slovenian and EU legislation stem from the principle that the liability for such damage can only be attributable to a person who is aware of the unlawful acts, and yet fails to act (Hoeren, 2014).

Internet service providers are not liable in the case of purely technical tasks, such as exclusive download and caching, as they do not control the transmitted content in the course of carrying out these tasks (they have neither the obligation nor the right to control). If the service provider also stores the data and provides access to third parties (hosting), his role becomes more active, so he can be exculpated only in the case of ignorance or if he, as provided by the law, respects the system of abuse reporting and removes objectionable content (notice-and-take-down procedures). A classic example of the latter group of providers are companies that sell or lease space on their servers (hosting).

For these three categories of Internet service providers the law therefore allows exculpation (relief) of civil liability by a simple system of reporting the controversial content and a corresponding immediate reaction by the provider (removal of such content). The burden of control is shifted to the injured party, which is obliged to review the online content and to urge the Internet service provider to remove any controversial posts, while the provider clearly has no duty to provide universal control of the published content. It is crucial that the purpose of the legislation presented is to relieve those information society service providers of liability who do not engage with the content of the posted information, and provide only neutral technical services that enable the operation of the information society.[2]

The EU Court case law is similar. In the case of L'Oréal, the Court clearly stated that the mere fact that we are dealing with a provider of information society services does not mean that it is entitled to the privilege under Article 14 of the Directive, since that depends on its role in relation to the customers. If its role is active (e.g. optimization of the presentation of offers for sale, or a promotion) and not just technically neutral, the exception could not be invoked (see, C-324/09, 2009; L'Oreal and Others, 2011).

The Civil Liability of the Editor and Other Persons i n the case law of ECtHR

The ECtHR recently ruled on these issues (in the case *Delphi v. Estonia*) when it adjudicated whether the liability for damages of the publisher of a news web portal for offensive comments posted under articles on the portal, mostly by anonymous and unregistered users, violates freedom of expression guaranteed by Article 10 of the ECHR (Cerar, 2013, 22). The judgment is interesting because both the regulation of liability for the violation of personal rights in the media and the implementation of the EU Directive 2000/31/EC on electronic commerce in Estonian law are entirely comparable to Slovenian regulation of these matters (Official Gazette of RS, 2006). The ECtHR was of the opinion that it is permissible to legally treat the publisher of a news site in the same manner as a publisher of traditional media, and not as an information society service provider who usually has no control over the published content. Therefore, the publisher is also liable for anonymous posts under the general rules of the law of obligations.[3] The ECtHR therefore held that national legislation under which the publisher of a news site who enables and encourages hostile online posts by anonymous users on his/her website is liable for them, is not contrary to the ECHR.[4]

1 The blog's editor is the person who is responsible for its publication and for editing the comments. The editor may also be a contributing writer, but not necessarily. The website owner is the person who has registered a web domain.

2 The ECJ explicitly stated so in the cases C236/08 to C238/08 *Google France and Google* [2010] ECR I2417 of 23 March 2010, C324/09 *L'Oréal and Others* of 12 July 2011 and C-70/10 *Scarlet Extended* of 24 November 2011.

3 More on the possibilities and limitations of the exculpation of Internet service providers on the basis of Directive 2000/31/EC on electronic commerce, see the case law of the ECJ in Cases C-236/08 to C-238/08 Google France and Google [2010] ECR I 2417 of 23 March 2010; C-324/09 L'Oréal and Others of 12 July 2011; and C-70/10 Scarlet Extended of 24 November 2011.

4 It is interesting that the publisher removed the controversial comments (which were not hate speech, but a direct insult to specific individuals) as soon as he was made aware of them, but he is nevertheless liable for damages for the time (a few weeks) they had been posted.

The Slovenian case law on liability for hate speech in criminal law

Decisions of the High Courts

The Supreme Court of the Republic of Slovenia has not yet adjudicated in relation to an offence referred to in Article 297 of the Slovenian Criminal Code. However, the Slovenian high courts have so far ruled four times with regard to this crime. There were three convictions and one acquittal. All three convictions had been brought before the amendments to the Slovenian Criminal Code were adopted on 15 December 2012. The acquittal was issued at a time when the amendment to the Criminal Code was already in force.

An analysis of the acquittal shows that the defendant was acquitted precisely because the conditions enacted by the amendment to Article 297 of 15 December 2012 were not present in the case (Judgment of the High Court of Ljubljana No. II Kp 65803/2012, 2013). The High Court thus stated in its judgment that only such conduct which, depending on the specific circumstances, threatens or disturbs public peace and order counts as public incitement to hatred, violence or intolerance. A concrete threat must be present which must be manifested in an immediate danger, interference with the physical or mental integrity of individuals, or interfering with the exercise of rights or duties of individuals, state authorities, local communities and persons with powers conferred by public law in a public place.

Actions promoting or inciting hatred or intolerance must be of such a nature that they did not lead to violations of public order and peace in the environment and situation in which they were committed solely due to the timely intervention of the competent authorities or individual participants or other bystanders or due to timely cessation of hate speech.

The other three cases in which the High Court convicted the defendants concerned the public incitement of hatred against Roma and homosexuals (Judgments of the High Court of Ljubljana No. II Kp 24631/2010, 2011; II Kp 24633/2010 2011; II Kp 5357/2010 2011). The High Court decided all three cases before the amendment to the Criminal Code of 15 December 2012 entered into force, i.e. when the element of threatening public peace and order was not included in the definition of the offence. In all three cases, the High Court reasoned that all the elements of the alleged offence had been present.

Based on the four judgments, we conclude that the tightening of the threshold for the offence defined in Article 297 of Slovenian Criminal Code and amended on 15 December 2012, will affect the share of convictions and acquittals in future cases. To put it differently, in light of the introduction of an additional element to the offence, i.e. the threat to public order and peace and threats, an abusive remarks and insults by the perpetrator, relatively lower proportion of convictions is expected.

In her Annual Report of 2011, the Slovenian Human Rights Ombudsperson expressed disagreement with what is, in her opinion, the excessively restrictive attitude of the legislature and case law toward hate speech as a criminal offence (Annual Report of 2011 of Human Rights Ombudsperson, 2011, 26). In this critique of the Slovenian criminal law regime of hate speech, she obviously missed the fact that the Slovenian normative definition of hate speech as a criminal offence is consistent with the Council of Europe's guidelines and the case law of the Slovenian courts in this area does not deviate from the case law of the ECtHR. The manifestly high place of freedom of expression in the hierarchy of human rights in the European and Slovenian legal arena dictates the relatively restrictive prosecution of hate speech.

Tomaž Majer's online hate speech: a controversial decision

Despite the above findings, pursuant to which it may be inferred that the Slovenian legal regulation of hate speech is in accordance with Council of Europe's guidelines, in practice one can find cases in which law enforcement agencies have been more tolerant toward the perpetrators of hate speech then some other European countries and the ECtHR.

A typical example of the exercise of freedom of expression, which could be classified as hate speech according to the criteria set out in the case law of the ECtHR, but which the District Prosecutor's Office in Ljubljana considered a permissible form of exercising the freedom of expression, is a "letter" which was posted on the Slovenian Democratic Party website, signed by a person as Tomaž Majer. The letter attracted enormous public attention and provoked a wide spread debate.

In the letter, unfortunately no longer available on the party's website, its author stated, *inter alia*:

– That one of the reasons for the victory of Zoran Janković, a mayor of Ljubljana, in the parliamentary elections was "generosity" in granting citizenships to immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics;

– That immigrants from former Yugoslav republics account for as many as 350.000 Slovenian citizens with voting rights; this number is also due to their high "fertility";

– That the majority of these people voted for the candidate for whom they were told they must vote, or else fear losing their citizenship;

– That these immigrant voters had the number of the candidate which they had been told to vote for written on their hands, so as not to make a mistake when casting their vote;

– That because of these voters, Slovenia will have a Serb and socialist tycoon in a single person as a Prime Minister.

According to Majer's statement, immigrants make up a large part of the entire Slovenian population due to

inappropriate Slovenian policy decisions ("generosity with citizenships"), which affects the political affiliation of the Slovenian electorate. Or, to put it differently, the large number of "Southerners", who became Slovenian citizens because of misguided state policies, have a significant impact on who will be elected to public office in Slovenia. Because of these voters, Slovenia will have a Prime Minister of foreign origin with unappealing personality traits ("a Serb and a socialist tycoon"). Majer is further implying that immigrants:

- Do not have their own political will, but they exercise their right to vote following the instructions of others;
- Are uneducated, thinking that the state will strip them of their citizenship if they do not follow the instructions to vote for a particular candidate;
- Are unintelligent, since they have to write the number of their preferred candidate on their hands, so they do not forget it.

In light of the definition from the Recommendation No. R (97) 20 on "Hate Speech" cited above, which defines hate speech, *inter alia*, as an utterance that spreads "xenophobia […] or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin" it is obvious that Majer's text is a typical form of hate speech. Despite these findings, the District Prosecutor's Office in Ljubljana dismissed the Information Commissioner's criminal complaint against the author of the letter on the grounds that the act was not a criminal offence, because it did not threaten public order in accordance with the cited amendment to Article 297 of the Criminal Code, which was already in force by the time, and because the disputed words could not be classified as "threatening, abusive or insulting" forms of speech (Decision of the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Ljubljana No. Kt (0)5875/11-MJ-tp, 2012.).

The cited reasoning indicates that the District Prosecutor's Office used the lack of a "threat to public order and peace" as it is prescribed by the amended Criminal Code to justify its decision regarding the controversial letter; this is also in line with the case law. Thus, in the reasoning of its decision the District Prosecutor's Office literally summarized the position of the High Court in Ljubljana as follows: "[A]ctions promoting or inciting hatred or intolerance must be of such a nature that they did not lead to violations of public order and peace in the original context and situation solely due to the timely intervention of the competent authorities or individual participants or other bystanders or due to the timely cessation of hate speech" (Judgment of the High Court in Ljubljana No. II Kp 65803/2012 of 11 December 2013).

The prosecution's explanatory note says nothing, and certainly does not clarify why the prosecution believes that "Majer's" claim that immigrants from former Yugoslavia are unintelligent, ignorant and that they pose a threat to the interests of the Slovenes are not offensive toward the immigrants. The prosecution's decision to dismiss the complaint is thus clearly unconvincing.

The example of Tomaž Majer could lead us to conclude that, even though the criminal law regime of hate speech conforms to the guidelines of the Council of Europe in principle, the Slovenian law enforcement authorities deviate from these guidelines in some cases. Such an understanding of the restrictions on freedom of expression is probably based on a non-critical use of the "doctrine of clear and present danger" imported from American case law to the European legal arena as is clear from certain theoretical legal contributions (Teršek, 2008).

The Slovenian case law on liability for online hate speech in civil law

Although Slovenian courts have not yet ruled explicitly on the civil liability for hate speech, they did make some important decisions on service providers' responsibilities for the posting of unlawful content by users, e.g. in the case of offensive statements on blogs or insulting comments in forums. These decisions are crucial to understand the liability for hate speech as can be easily applied mutatis mutandis.

Case Law on Service provider's liability for unlawful content in Slovenia

The High Court in Ljubljana recently noted that the provider of hosting services for blogs (blog.siol.net, sued for damages) could exculpate itself with respect to its liability for abusive blog posts if it reacted to calls by the injured party in a timely manner.[5] However, the Court did not give any details regarding the provider's liability.[6]

Even more interesting is the actual situation in case II Cp 4539/2010 of 15 December 2010 before the same High Court. The Court had to adjudicate on a motion for a temporary injunction by which the administrator of a forum would be required to remove offensive posts from the website without undue delay and be prohibited from

5 See judgment by the High Court in Ljubljana No. I Cp 3037/2011 of 9 May 2012. The case concerned a text posted on one of most-read blogs by provider blog.siol.net. The provider does not generate its own content, but it publishes blogs by registered users.

6 There was no need for the details since it was uncontested that the provider did not react after the injured party called for the withdrawal of the controversial content. Thus, the basic grounds for its exculpation were not met.

re-posting similar content.[7] The court of first instance rejected the motion, but the appellate court overturned its decision. The appellate court expressly rejected the reasoning of the court of first instance, which held that one's honour and reputation cannot be encroached upon by posts on online forums (chat rooms), since "online chat rooms do not have the same power as the media, and the average web user is expected to treat the value judgments posted in chat rooms with some reservation [...]". The High Court pointed out that even if the information on a web forum is not necessarily reliable, it is not possible to conclude that it can never affect the reputation of a doctor. The court decision is particularly important because the liability of the website owner was obviously not a problem (either for the defendant or for the court), meaning that claims against webpage owners, including temporary injunctions, are allowed in Slovenia, too.

In another recent case (I Cp 1033/2013 of 19 November 2013) the High Court in Maribor convicted the author of a controversial article (an opinion piece posted on the website) as well as the site's publisher and editor-in-chief. The defendant had to revoke the article, publish the judgment, and pay damages. Interestingly, the Court held that the immunity under Article 11 of the Electronic Commerce Market Act does not apply to the website owner, since he employs the editor in a full-time job and cannot invoke his "ignorance" of the contents of the posted opinion piece, which was approved by the editor. It is debatable whether the same argument would hold for users' comments, but it must be recognized that the court's decision in that case was courageous and well-reasoned.

Liability of online media for Hate Speech in Slovenia

It is undisputable that online news sites (in Slovenia www.siol.net, www.delo.si, www.dnevnik.si, www.rtvslo.si, www.pozareport.si) are by their substance media in terms of Article 2 of the Media Act. Namely, as specified in Article 2(1) of the Media Act (2001), they are "electronic publications […] of editorially formulated programming published daily or periodically through the transmission of written material, vocal material, sound or pictures in a manner accessible to the public." It is essential that published articles on online news sites are edited in the same way as in traditional media, with the difference that in traditional media comments by readers are also under editorial supervision. However, online comments are not (or at least the editorial policy is significantly weaker). The case law also affirms the view that online news sites are regarded as media (High Court in Ljubljana No. V Kp 201/2010, 2010 and High Court in Ljubljana No. II Cp 1587/2004, 2004).

But to answer the question whether online media are liable for the hate speech of their users (the authors of posts), it is still necessary to determine whether the websites can be granted relief of liability that applies to information society service providers according to the EU Directive 2000/31/EC on Electronic Commerce and the Slovenian Electronic Commerce Market Act (Official Gazette of RS, 2006). If so, they may be liable only if and when they learn about the violation, meaning that they are not liable for hostile posts that they are not aware of.

We believe that news and other websites, as well as blogs and forums should not be exculpated when it comes to hostile comments posted under editorially controlled content. Comments on news sites are not separated from posted articles (the site's own content), which makes them part of a coherent set of content. It is therefore legitimate and justified that the same person (the publisher of the news site) is liable for the legality of the entire content (both their own articles and the comments posted below them). That person is usually an editor who is treated as an employee within the meaning of Article 147 of the Slovenian Code of Obligations, which prevents him/her from being sued directly. In this case, the enabling of commenting constitutes a supplement to the publisher's own content rather than a neutral technical activity. If there are grounds for the fault liability of website operators, then there are even more grounds for prohibitory injunctions (prohibition of future violations) according to Article 134 of the Code of Obligations.

Therefore, the publisher should be liable even if editor removes the controversial post as soon as he/she is informed of it or has received a request to that effect.

Liability for Hate Speech in Posts on Blogs and Forums

The same goes for commenting on blogs and in forums and other user websites. The administrator of the blog is usually the person who registered the blog (domain). If that is not the same person as the editor who is responsible for the publication of posts on the blog, the editor may also be held liable for anonymous posts.

Even forums have moderators who are supposed to supervise posts, which are an essential part of online communities. If the moderator allows anonymous posts without any form of control and the forum is publicly accessible, we think that both the moderator and the administrator of the forum should be liable for posted

7 The plaintiff (a physician) claimed that the defendant is the publisher of a website on which there was a thread entitled "Dr. A – surgery of varicose veins" in the section "online chat room". The plaintiff claimed that the thread contained some untruths and lies regarding him. The aim of the untruths and distorted facts was to discredit the plaintiff as a physician and seriously violate his personal rights, especially his honour and reputation. The plaintiff alleged that the defendant enabled random authors to post unauthorized comments and thus allowed the violation of his personal rights. He demanded the removal of the controversial posts from the forum and that the re-posting of similar content should be banned.

content. In these cases, liability cannot be avoided even if the controversial post has been removed upon the request of the injured party (if, of course, it was accessible for an amount of time which can cause damage). Liability also cannot be avoided just by using disclaimers or general clauses excluding liability (usually included in the general terms and conditions). We believe, therefore, that the operators of websites, at least if allowing anonymous comments, are obliged to check every anonymous comment prior to posting it. And if the comment is manifestly unlawful, it should not be allowed to appear on the website.[8]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Since existing legal studies on the subject of online hate speech have neglected the question of civil and criminal liability for online hate speech, this article tries to fill this research gap.

Although victims of hate speech spread by anonymous online commentators enjoy sufficient criminal law protection on the legislative level, they are much less protected in practice of Slovenian judiciary. We estimate that the introduction of an additional element to the offence will probably result in the relatively lower proportion of convictions. Additional elements to the criminal definition of the offence generally cause decrease of convictions as the threshold for charges is lifted.

A practical evidence supporting the conclusion that criminal sanctions against online hate speech are not sufficiently effective is the case of Tomaž Majer, which shows that even though the criminal law regime of hate speech conforms to the guidelines of the Council of Europe in principle, the Slovenian law enforcement authorities might deviate from these guidelines. The reason may be twofold: on the one hand, public prosecutors and judges are not familiar with the (the non-mandatory) guidelines provided by Council of Europe; on the other, the guidelines still present abstract and general principles rather than concrete solutions; their uniform application to specific cases of hate speech therefore remains a challenge.

Currently, the biggest and most acute problem in Slovenian civil law is the inability of the injured party to identify the tort-feasor. The injured party has no legal grounds to obtain the identification data (such as IP number) that would enable him to bring a civil action. Due to the constitutional protection of the right to privacy and communication confidentiality (Constitutional Court judgment in the case Up-106/05, 2008) and due to a lack of legal regulation of the collision between the rights of anonymous commenters and offended individuals in Slovenia, the information on the defendant (directly responsible for the damage) can only be obtained through criminal proceedings (The Information Commissioner No. 0712-1/2012/1999, 2012). We believe that the current legal regulation does not conform to the Constitution, because in the conflict between the fundamental rights of injured party and the author's right to freedom of expression, the latter has an absolute priority, which almost certainly represents a violation of Article 8 of the ECHR. In the case of *K.U. v. Finland* (2008), the ECtHR held that Finland, which like Slovenia did not provide the victim (in that case, a twelve-year-old boy whose information was posted on a dating website) a legal possibility to identify the perpetrator, breached the ECHR. For the time being, anonymous commenters in Slovenia can post whatever they want with basically no risk.

In the future, it will be necessary to arrange a special procedure by which the affected person can demand the disclosure of the identity of the authors of anonymous posts (and other persons who act illegally on the Internet).[9] Another practical solution could be for service providers to consistently require their users to register with their contact information, including their name, surname and address. The incentive for such a practice could come from a simple statutory provision that the owner of the website shall be considered the author of every anonymous post on his/her website.

8 A similar position was adopted by the German Hamburg Regional Court in case 324 O 794/07 of 4 December 2007. The court had to decide whether the author and owner of a blog has an obligation to review manifestly unlawful comments posted on his blog by the users. The Court emphasized that the meaning of the due diligence should be determined on the case-by-case basis. However, the standard of due diligence of the blog administrator in situations where there is a high probability of insulting comments, requires the obligation of prior review of all comments. The courts in Hamburg (Regional Court and High Court) are well known for their strict views regarding freedom of expression, as an exception to other German case law.

9 This is a real and growing problem elsewhere as well, as confirmed by a recent bold decision by a news website in Croatia (jutarnji.hr), which publicly posted the most primitive, hostile and offensive comments and included the names and photographs of their authors. See http://www.jutarnji.hr/mracna-strana-hrvatske--ovo-su-pritajeni-ekstremisti-medu-nama/1140564/.

DISCORSO INCITANTE ALL'ODIO ON-LINE E COMMENTI ANONIMI SU INTERNET: COME COMBATTERE LA BATTAGLIA LEGALE IN SLOVENIA?

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RIASSUNTO

Lo scopo di questo articolo è stabilire chi sia, secondo la Legge civile e penale slovena, responsabile dei danni causati dai commenti antigiuridici nei discorsi intrisi di odio. Per raggiungere questo obiettivo ci sono a disposizione dei rimedi legali nell'ambito del diritto civile e penale sloveno, e una particolare attenzione viene rivolta alla loro efficacia nella pratica. Anche se le vittime di discorsi di odio, che vengono diffusi on-line da commentatori anonimi, godono di una certa tutela adeguata da parte del diritto penale a livello legislativo, sono molto meno protetti nella pratica della giurisprudenza slovena a causa di recenti cambiamenti nella definizione di reato. D'altra parte, invece, il problema più urgente del diritto civile sloveno è l'incapacità della parte lesa di identificare l'autore del reato. Gli autori ritengono che le notizie e i siti web, come pure i blog e i forum, siano responsabili dei discorsi di incitamento all'odio dei commentatori per via del controllo editoriale dei contenuti che non sono in conformità con la definizione tecnica dei fornitori di servizi. I gestori di siti web che consentono commenti anonimi sono tenuti a verificare ogni commento anonimo prima di essere pubblicato.

Parole chiave: discorsi di odio su internet, rimedi legali, diritto civile, diritto penale, offerente di servizi internet, commenti anonimi su internet.

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WHEN THE MEDIUM IS ON THE MESSAGE: EXPLORING HATE IN MEDIA-READER INTERACTIONS IN SPANISH ONLINE SPORTS JOURNALISM

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to examine the way readers who participate in the comments section of online sports newspapers produce hate speech toward the medium. The research focuses on the Marca sport-based online community in Spain, in the context of the Real Madrid vs. FC Barcelona rivalry. The article explores the medium's quandary between allowing the free speech of his readers and therefore promoting the audience's engagement and the protection of its brand image, threatened by comments containing hate speech. Although only a small part of the readers addressed the medium through their comments, almost 75 per cent of them contained hate speech, accounting for a very violent discussion environment.

Keywords: Participatory journalism, comments, sport, hate speech, hostile media, Spain.

KO JE MEDIJ SPOROČILO: RAZISKOVANJE SOVRAŠTVA V INTERAKCIJI MED MEDIJEM IN BRALCI V ŠPANSKEM SPLETNEM ŠPORTNEM NOVINARSTVU

IZVLEČEK

Namen tega članka je proučiti, kako bralci, ki pišejo komentarje pod prispevki v spletnem športnem časopisu Marca, tvorijo sovražni govor do medija. Raziskava se osredotoča na športno spletno skupnost v Španiji, in sicer v okviru rivalstva med Real Madridom in FC Barcelono. Članek raziskuje medijsko dilemo med svobodo govora svojih bralcev in spodbujanjem komentiranja ter zaščito blagovne znamke časopisa, ki jo ogrožajo komentarji s sovražnim govorom. Čeprav je le majhen del bralcev s svojimi komentarji nagovoril medij, je skoraj 75 odstotkov komentarjev vključevalo sovražni govor, ki ustvarja zelo nasilno razpravljalno okolje.

Ključne besede: participatorno novinarstvo, komentarji, šport, sovražni govor, sovraštvo do medija, Španija.

INTRODUCTION

Online sports newspapers that host comments sections have to navigate between the Scylla and Charybdis of participatory journalism. On the one hand, a too zealous and conservative approach to the comments would reduce the number of user commenting and therefore the visits to the site and the money charged to the announcers. Also, the more the readers comment the deeper the involvement with the newspaper, making it a long-term investment in terms of loyalty and engagement with the medium. Nonetheless, on the other hand, a too permissive look at comments could damage the equity brand of the newspaper and result in a loss of trustworthiness (Diakopoulos and Naaman, 2011). In addition, insults and hate speech attract the attention of some commentators but refrain others from entering the discussion.

The opportunities that new technologies offer for reader participation in terms of interactivity and immediacy (Nielsen, 2013) need to be balanced with the popular perception that online comments hardly ever add to the debate, and what is more important, that very frequently impregnate the online discussion with derogatory language, hate and insults (Ruiz et al., 2010; Neurauter-Kessels, 2011; Ruiz et al., 2011). The dilemma of allowing or censoring certain opinions is especially notable in the case of the comments sections of online sports newspapers. Fans' involvement is an intrinsic component of sports spectacle and sports journalism, and the socializing and the community-building virtues that sports discussion entails cannot be undervalued (Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2014). However, the passionate partisanship and sectarianism sometimes involved in sports chatter makes it convenient for the media to oversee it (Boyle, 2012).

Therefore, this article aims at examining the relationship between news commentators and the online sports media hosting the discussion. We are specifically interested in the way fans produce hate speech toward a medium and how it manages that hatred. First, a quantitative analysis of comments was conducted, verifying if a media-reader relationship actually occurred. When that relationship existed, it was also quantitatively examined the media response to those comments of users addressing them. Second, a qualitative approach was followed to determine if user comments addressing the medium included hate speech. Finally and most importantly, those comments were examined to identify the main narratives articulating them. This work presents a local perspective and focuses on the Spanish context of football fandom, selecting as a case study one of the most important online sports community in Spain, Marca Community, hosted by Marca newspaper. Spanish sport landscape is dominated by football and is deeply divided into two contending sides: FC Barcelona supporters and Real Madrid supporters. We examined how the hate toward the medium took the shape of a fight between the two fan crowds and how Marca reacted to that hatred.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Online comments, as a popular form of active audiences in the context of participatory journalism, has attracted the attention of a number of scholars in the last decade (Deuze, 2009; Domingo et al., 2008). Audience's comments challenge the traditional role of journalists as gatekeepers and force them to become 'gatewatchers' (Mitchelstein, 2011). The User-Generated Content (UGC) is often used by media outlets because it has become one of the most sought-after characteristics of online journals by the readers (Örnebring, 2008). In particular, newspapers have developed extensive sections of their Web pages based on UGC. But there is still relatively little discussion of the exact relationship between producing and consuming in these sections. What is being produced and what is being consumed? Does the blurring of the producer/consumer represent a real shift in power away from traditional media/news organizations, or is the rise of UGC just a way for newspapers to get content produced for free? Manosevitch argues that due to its embryonic state, research on online comments section is still 'primarily descriptive' (Manosevitch, 2011, 21) and emphasizes the need for more developed longitudinal studies on the area. In one of the most prolific efforts up to date the investigators examined and compared the participatory journalism cultures of 10 European countries and dedicated one chapter to users' comments as a privileged example of UGC (Reich, 2011). Among the methodologies employed we can identify a trend toward the ethno-methodological approaches. In-depth or semi-structured interviews were conducted in numerous researches (Chung, 2007; Paulussen and Ugille, 2008; Thurman, 2008). In others, interviews with practitioners were complemented with discourse analysis of the comments, either critical (Erjavec and Kovačič, 2012, 2013) or computed-mediated (Ruiz et al., 2011, 2010). Audience studies, such as online questionnaires, are more time-consuming and sometimes expensive and they have been very rare so far (Bergström, 2008).

We seek to position our work between two gaps in the existing literature. One the one hand, while research on online sport fans' participation is extensive (Hornmoen, 2012; Özsoy, 2011; Ruddock et al., 2010; Steensen, 2012) little or nothing has been done to date in the specific area of sports commenting under the news. On the other hand, the media-reader relationship allows the authors to explore the implications for media industry of fans participation. From a customer service perspective, hateful comments toward the medium can be understood as service failure and therefore addressed in order to recovery. Thus, the first goal of our study consists in verifying the existence of the aforementioned media-

reader relationship. We focused on reader's messages referring to the medium, irrespective of the content of those messages. Therefore we propose the first research question:

RQ1: Do readers address the medium in their comments?

Since the early 2000s many interviewees from media outlets declared that the future of journalism lies in interactivity (Deuze et al., 2004). In the context of participatory journalism, media like to see themselves as promoters of audience-brand dialogue, which is why they encourage the participation of the consumers. This dialogue has been severely questioned by Domingo, who coined the expression 'the myth of interactivity' (2008) to refer to the ambiguous efforts of media companies to reach out consumers. In similar terms, other authors have explained that relationship as an 'interactive illusion' (Jönsson and Örnebring, 2011) variously described by terms such as interactivity and user-generated content, is frequently held up as a democracy-enhancing development. However, these concepts say little about the exact nature and character of media/audience relations. We wish to introduce a more detailed taxonomy of user-generated content. In both cases the underlying idea is that media only wants to incorporate readers or viewers in a superficial way while disempowering them in the long run.

This pursued interaction with the user, if occurred as posed in RQ1, can backlash against the medium. One of the five problems envisioned by Reich when studying users' comments was their controversial content (Reich, 2011), a characteristic already posed by Singer and Ashman (2009). In Reich's work the editor of The National Post (Canada) confesses that 'the tone of your paper can really suffer from readers comments' (Reich, 2011). The specificity of those controversial comments in sports journalism resides in the fact that fans involved in sport discussions, and especially football in Spain and other football-centric countries, can easily turn heated comments into hate speech.

In a football country like Scotland the Scottish Parliament introduced in 2012 'The Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act' in order to tackle the traditional sectarianism and religious hatred derived from the rivalry between the two main clubs. There are two fundamental and original things about this unprecedented Act. The first one is its implication that football constitutes a species of its own, that the hatred involved in sports deserves a specific regulation beyond general legislation. The second thing is that the Act includes a whole section about hate speech on the Internet and it explicitly focuses on 'posted sectarian comments on the Internet' (Scottish Parliament, 2012).

Hate speech has been defined as 'speech that denigrates persons on the basis of their race, ethnic origin, religion, gender, age, physical condition, disability, sexual orientation, and so forth (Leets, 2002, 342). We have adhered to a wider definition of hate speech ranging from discrimination based on national origin to sectarianism, as it is the case in Spanish football for the Madrid-Barcelona rivalry. Also, we included in our definition censorship allegations as some readers perceived censoring as a limitation to civil liberties. We aim to examine if the media-reader interaction is pervaded by hate speech. Our second research question then reads as follows:

RQ2: To what extent do readers' opinions include hate speech toward the medium?

In the event of hateful comments the role of the media remains unclear. The regulation on the comments posted online is still under construction and the responsibility of the hosting site is disputed. One of the last sentences made the Estonian web portal Delfi responsible for the offensive messages posted on its site. The European Court of Human Rights ruled that Delfi had editorial control over the comments section and that the filter was 'insufficient for preventing harm being caused to third parties' (European Court of Human Rights, 2013).

The medium, hence, is bestowed with the task of finding the right equilibrium between the freedom of speech and the hate speech in the comments. Sometimes, though, fans from either side perceive the equilibrium has been broken and the medium is caught in the crossfire. How is it supposed to react in those occasions?

RQ3: How does the medium moderate hate speech?

Finally, we are determined to explore how this hate speech is constructed upon the messages. We must take into consideration that sporting narratives have been consistently characterized as 'narratives of conflict'. Sport has been considered a primordial communicative tool for gender discrimination (Billings and Eastman, 2002), racism (Van Sterkenburg et al., 2010) and nationalism (Alabarces et al., 2001; Knight, 2005). As a consequence some authors have pointed out that the main task of sport is the 'production of difference' (Rowe, 2003, 282), that is, that sport's primary focused is always the discovery of otherness and subsequently the mass production of narratives around this otherness. That is why Moragas reminded us that sport journalism is not there to give us a conciliatory account of the events but to 'emphasize the elements of crisis and contradiction' (1992, 15).

In the light of this observation one might come to the conclusion that sport is the perfect breeding ground for the exacerbation of hate speech. We understand a narrative as 'a specific form of representation, one that accentuates the sequential or syntagmatic nature of meaning' (Knight, 2005). This means that a single narrative can potentially relate to numerous different comments by grouping them around a single storyline. The last question would be then:

RQ4: What main narratives articulate the hateful discourse toward the medium?

CONTEXTUALIZING HATE IN SPANISH SPORT

In the last years in Europe's top sport leagues several black footballers have suffered racially abusive actions such as insults and monkey gestures. In 2004 the Spanish Football Federation was fined with £44,750 for racist chanting against the international English players Ashley Cole and Shaun Wright-Phillips (BBC, 2004). Two years later, in 2006, the Cameroonian FC Barcelona striker Samuel Eto'o threatened to leave the pitch during a game against Real Zaragoza in protest for the racist chants in the terraces (Lowe, 2006). To fight back those aggressions the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) in collaboration with Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) launched in 2008 the social responsibility programme called 'Respect'. In the commercial accompanying the campaign UEFA tries to address its concerns about gender, racial and religious discrimination as well as the improvement of the access to stadia of people with disabilities.

Spain has been repeatedly warned by the International Olympic Committee for not being adamant enough on the fight against racism, that being supposedly one of the reasons why Madrid did not win the right to hold neither the 2016 nor the 2020 Olympic Games (Logothetis, 2009). In 2014, two new episodes of racism and religious discrimination gained public attention in Spain. In April, the Brazilian FC Barcelona football player Dani Alves was thrown a banana from the public accompanied with monkey gestures. Alves' response became viral as he decided to grab the banana from the pitch, peel it and eat it. Some weeks later, in the Euroleague basketball final between Real Madrid and Maccabi Tel-Aviv, several Jewish associations in Spain denounced that more than 17,500 Twitter users wrote anti-Semitic tweets (Levs, 2014) and remembered that Spain was the third country in Western Europe with the highest number of adults believing in anti-Semitic stereotypes (Anti-Defamation League, 2014).

The Catalan-Spanish identity conflict

In Spain, nevertheless, the most notorious 'production of difference' comes from the Real Madrid – FC Barcelona rivalry, known as *El Clásico* (Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2012). These are the two most important clubs in the country and two of the most acknowledged all over the world. The relationship between these clubs is the tale of two cities. Madrid and Barcelona are the largest cities in Spain and their sporting rivalry dates back to 1902, their first match together, and continues for over a century until today. Each institution reaffirms proudly its symbolic heritage. Real Madrid has been awarded ten times with the European Champions League title. They represent the aristocracy of European football and are the wealthiest football club in the world (Deloitte, 2014), fact that enables them to attract the best-paid footballers available. FC Barcelona has constructed an image of creativity and passion, based on a very imaginative and forward way of playing the game.

Madrid is the capital city of Spain and as such it represents the centrality, the *status quo* and the reactionary values of the country. Barcelona is the main city of Catalonia, an autonomous province of Spain seeking for independence from the rest of the country. The sport rivalry reflects the political struggle between the two territories and this conflict is permanently in the mind of the news commentators. Salvador has defined *El Clásico* as 'a game of identity and otherness' (Salvador, 2004, 64). Other authors have referred to Catalonia's situation in the Peninsula as 'a never-ending civil war, armed or metaphorical, against Spain' (Vázquez Montalbán, 2006). For many years Real Madrid was perceived as the national team, supported by the dictator Franco, who favoured them to the detriment of FC Barcelona's interests (León Solís, 2003). However, there are some recent works that show a more nuanced picture of the history (Relaño, 2012).

CASE STUDY: MARCA

For the purpose of this analysis we have selected the Marca online version' comments under the news as an online meeting point where FC Barcelona and Real Madrid supporters gather to discuss. The Marca Community is arguably one of the world largest online sports communities in Spanish. Almost 500,000 registered users participate in it and every month the news published on its website marca.com receive in the range of 800,000 to 1,200,000 comments. The community is named after the Marca daily, which is the most sold sport-based newspaper in Spain (EGM, 2013) and one of the most influential sports medium in the Spanish-speaking countries. Created in 1938, Marca permeates the everyday life of many sports fans and has the ability to dominate the Spanish cultural conversation about football.

Although commentators remain anonymous in the Marca Community they must provide a verifiable email address and post under the same nickname all the time. This strategy allows Marca community manager to permanently block undesirable users and thus re-address the online conversation. Usually, comments under the news on Marca are irrespective of the content of the news story itself. Fans lead the thread of discussion towards non-related issues and turn the forum into a continuum of self-references, making it very hard to follow for a casual bystander. In the end this leads to an autonomous conversation out of control for the medium that finds itself unable to impose neither the topic of discussion nor the tone of it.

Interaction moderation

The Marca Community deals regularly with hate speech and offensive language. They have outsourced

the management of the online discussion to Interactora, a user-generated content services company that delivers the same service to almost every digital media in Spain. The CEO and founder, Joan Llorach, explained to us in an interview the strategy followed by Interactora to restrain bad behaviour and build a healthy community. First, Marca sends Interactora the comments via the Content Management System (CMS), a process that wraps comments in small packages and delivers them. Second, Interacora filters those posted messages – it is a post-moderation tool, meaning that messages are first published and seconds later moderated – through a 19 steps tool called Moderation Technology Platform (MTP). Those steps include commonsensical measures such as deleting comments all written in capital letters as well as those blank. More sophisticated procedures encompass the use of a terminological *black list* with banned expressions and also a *black list* of users wherein commentators with a history of deleted messages are given special treatment. The MTP essentially categorizes users' comments in three groups: comments to be deleted, comments to remain published and comments yet to be determined. These undetermined comments are tagged by the robot to be passed to the human moderators, who read them and ultimately determine their convenience. Interactora employs around 40 moderators whenever Marca presumes a peak in the traffic volume at its website.

It is very unusual for Marca to shut down the commenting on its website but this is exactly what happened for a brief period of time in March 2011. Eric Abidal, a FC Barcelona French player of Caribbean ancestry, was diagnosed with a liver tumour. Abidal happened to be black and also a convert to Islam. Javier Muiña, Marca Community Manager at the time, was overwhelmed by the amount of racist and anti-Muslim comments spread on the forums, many of them wishing him dead by the cancer. Marca decided to disable the commenting option and removed all the comments on Abidal.

METHODS

In order to answer the research questions, we first exported the dataset provided by Marca to a customized database (Guerrero-Solé and Lopez-Gonzalez, 2013). The dataset consisted of all the comments posted to any of the news published by online news sport portal Marca from April 22nd to May 2nd, 2013. We selected the date because on those days took place the 2012-13 knockout phase of the UEFA Champions League football competition. On April 22nd and 23rd the four semi-finalists played the first leg of their matches; on April 31st and May 1st the second legs. We had a special interest in those confrontations because both Barcelona, who faced Bayern Munich, and Real Madrid, who played against Borussia Dortmund, were involved. Afterwards, we processed the dataset to identify those users that posted spam messages and removed all their comments from the database (103,495 messages). The resulting dataset consisted, then, of 209,584 posts. Of these messages, 30,195 were flagged as censored by the content manager.

After cleansing the dataset, we used the search engine of the database to find whether Marca readers expressed their opinion about the medium (RQ1). To achieve our objective, we decided to perform a search by the keyword 'marca'. The search was performed in all the dataset, had the messages been censored or had not. The use of the keyword 'marca' as the only way to determine the media-reader interaction has its limitations as 'marca' stands also for the third person singular of the verb 'marcar', 'to score' in Spanish. That is why to complement the answer to RQ1, we randomly selected a sample of posts to check that the users actually made reference to the medium. We exported a list with the identifying codes of the messages to statistical software and executed the function 'Random samples of cases'. We randomly selected 200 of the messages containing the keyword 'marca' with a sampling error of 0.07. RQ2 was answered by examining those 200 comments and seeking hateful speech in them.

To answer RQ3 and RQ4 we selected a second sample, slightly larger, this time only composed of comments representing hate speech. We selected 230 hate messages that included keywords and derivatives of dictatorship, censorship, fascism, Nazism, racism and inquisition. How did we choose these search terms? When answering RQ1 and RQ2 we familiarized with the contents of the messages. Based on the theoretical assumptions of the grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), we inductively proposed some open coding categories. The open coding was a preliminary classification process of the material by which we could order the raw data into intelligible categories of analysis (Walker and Myrick, 2006). Once the categories were created, by means of the axial coding the items were regrouped in each category and create new categories that could form complete narratives articulating hate speech as posed in RQ4. In the field of the sports studies this method has been employed before to shed light into the narratives generated by sports journalism (Vincent et al., 2010; Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2012). In online sports discussion we can find a precedent in the work of Kian et al. (2011) who specifically utilized the open coding and axial coding levels to make sense of the college football recruiting message board posts.

RESULTS

In Figure I we can observe a summary of the answers to RQ1 and RQ2. From the 209,585 comments composing the dataset only 12,316 contained the keyword 'marca'. Apparently, all those comments directly addressed the daily but on closer examination only half of them approximately actually referred to Marca

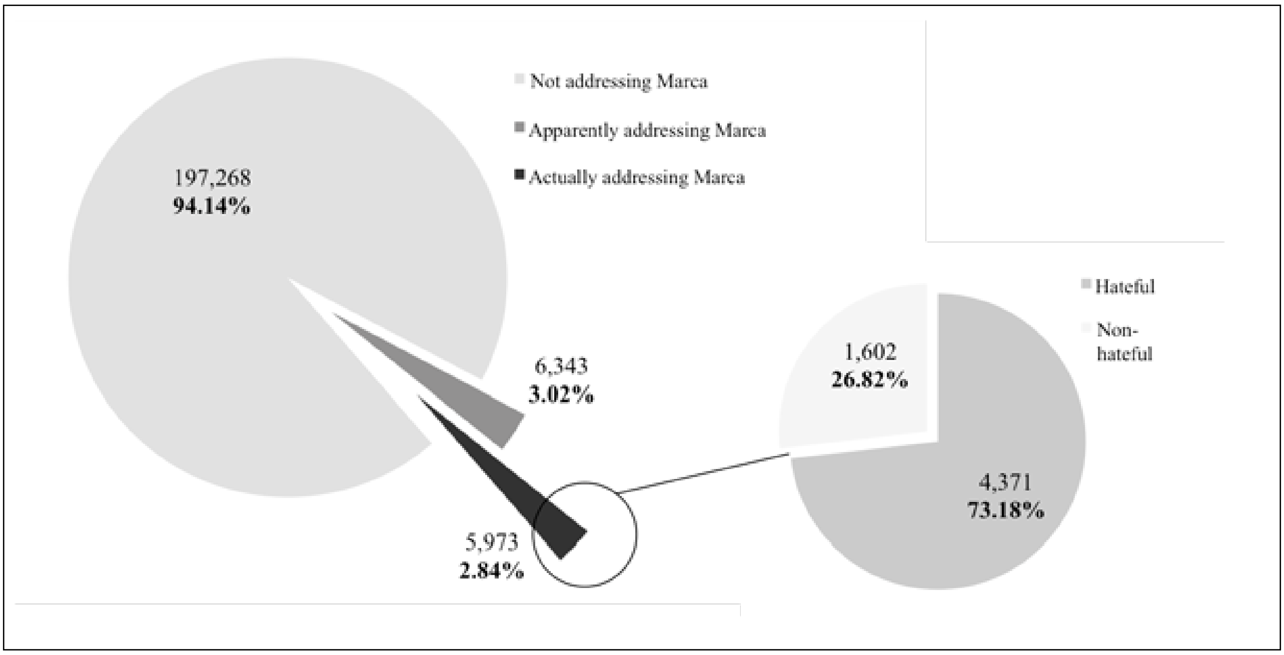


Figure 1. Number and % of comments toward Marca containing hateful speech
Slika 1: Število komentarjev, ki vključujejo sovražni govor do Marce

newspaper. Thus, the final number of messages in the comments under the news addressing the medium was 2.84 per cent. However, among this small percentage of comments, almost every one of them contained hateful speech toward the medium (73.18 per cent).

In answer to RQ3 we have to point out that comments section displayed a great amount of insults, many of them in disguise to avoid detection by the moderation systems. Abbreviations and misspellings were common techniques to elude them. Hateful commentators grew in sophistication and elaborated sometimes difficult formulas to compose messages that allowed the correct decodification by other users but made them impossible to detect by the content managers in Marca. Hate speech in messages have to be concealed enough to pass undetected but at the same time it would fail the purpose if the target readers were not able to decode them, that is why hate speakers must balance their comments to avoid being blocked. Specifically, word derivations and irony proved to be very wise methods of camouflage of hatred. Non-existing derived words in conjunction with misspellings makes it very hard to the MTP to run the black list and therefore to identify forbidden words. Users are increasingly aware that robots run the moderation and that implies a whole different battle scenario.

In the aggregate, among the 209,584 messages received by Marca, 30,195 of them were censured, amounting to a 14.40 per cent. This number includes all sorts of comments, hateful and non-hateful. In the 12,316 comments containing the word 'marca' we observed a slightly bigger rate of deletion, 15.41 per cent. However, if we come closer to examine the messages toward the medium identified by the researchers as containing hate speech, the percentage of censorship increased up to 54.34 per cent (125 deleted comments out of 230).

The contextual information provided by the data of the first three research questions allowed us to expand our focus on RQ4. The axial coding showed two main axes around which the fans built their narratives articulating the hate speech toward Marca. We identified two fundamental questions that articulated the hate feelings: What should be talked about in Marca Community, and, who should be talking in Marca Community. The first question reflects what fans consider acceptable for the forum, and yet Marca censors; and also, on the contrary, what fans consider censorable and yet Marca leaves it unpunished. The second question creates a barrier between true Marca commentators and outsiders. The idea behind it seems to be that those who do not belong here should refrain from sharing their opinions here and Marca should moderate, and if necessary censor, those outsiders.

Don't you dare to remove my comment!

Some readers who wrote hate speech comments complain about Marca's arbitrariness to decide what is censorable and what is not. Usually, those readers re-enter the conversation after their post has been deleted to expose the injustice: *'Marca has censored my comment three times for expressing the same opinion as you but*

without insults'. Actually, readers with censored comments find in those the justification for the escalation of hate towards the medium. Very eloquently, a commentator warns Marca about the reasons behind his attitude: *'Moderator. I told you to f*** off because you deleted my innocuous comment. Best wishes, moderator-dictator'*.

A majority of readers with censored comments attacked Marca claiming the web infringed their rights to speak freely. They accused Marca of censoring them without any reason and some compared Marca's lack of respect for freedom of speech to the Spanish Inquisition. The Grand Inquisitor, Juan de Torquemada, a XV Century Spanish monk, was often cited. *'Here comes again the Holy Inquisition'* or *'We are back to the years of Torquemada'*. Commentators delve into the darkest ghosts of Spanish History in an attempt to shame the medium and make them re-evaluate the removed comments. Readers with previously deleted comments rejoined the discussion, sometimes from a different profile, and blamed Marca for doing so.

The most common way of attacking Marca's alleged inclination towards censorship was calling them fascists: *'Marca fascist'*, and particularly connecting them to Franco's regime. Spain underwent 40 years of dictatorship until 1975. Under General Franco's rule citizens had no freedom of speech and media suffered prior restraint and the confiscation of publications. Franco was believed to support Real Madrid, the team from the capital city Madrid, and as a consequence Marca is perceived by FC Barcelona fans as the inheritor of Franco's will. This comparison also reveals a latent political belief underlying the online discussion. Barcelona fans see themselves as progressive, open-minded and modern; on the contrary, they perceive Madrid fans as centralist, conservative and loyalist. We can clearly observe the chained equation Marca = Real Madrid = Madrid = Spain = Francoism in the following example: *'This is what Madridism and its journalistically immoral pamphlet Marca look like. The Madridism has been morally schooled in the Franco's dictatorship hehehe'*.

In another comment that perfectly summarizes the terms of this equation a reader said: *'Marca people, as always, censoring. You removed a comment about Iñaki Urdangarín* [alleged white collar thief, son-in-law of Juan Carlos I, the Spanish monarch] *the other day; freedom of speech is not your thing. Paquito* [Franco] *died but his ashes are still with us. Long live Barça and long live Catalonia!'*. In the message we can observe the two poles of the comparison. On the one hand, Marca is aligned with Spanish corruptors. They censor and manipulate to prevent the readers from learning the truth, just as Franco used to do during his years in power. On the other hand, the message concludes with a cry in favour of Barcelona, the team, and Catalonia, the nation. Here lies the moral of the commentator's intervention. If Marca's side is symbolically formed by dictatorship, censorship and lies, Barcelona's side denotes freedom of speech and truth. In the same fashion, this other comment *'Marca, you fascists! You delete comments against Madrid. Shame on youuuuuu!'* explicitly blames Marca for taking sides and infers that the rules of participation that guide the deletion or publication of the comments are just a masquerade, the real reason being the ideology behind the comment.

Paradoxically, commentators seem to value the freedom of speech when it comes to their own comments but meanwhile have favourable opinions on censorship regarding other's comments. *'I cannot understand why Marca does not censor this fella insulting me, calling me "ignorant" and staining the name of Real Madrid'*. What transpires with this attitude is the reader's ultimate opinion on censorship. They believe some sort of censoring is needed although they criticize being censored. They share the idea that there should be a limit for free speech and admonish the content managers against the rampant racism hidden in El Clásico rivalry comments. *'I've been saying for quite some time now how is it possible to read on Marca such racist, xenophobic and disrespectful comments. Marca is looking forward to increase their audience and provoke people's desire to buy the newspaper. Marca, you should hang your head in shame'*.

Whose paper is this?

A very determinant battlefield for the readers in Marca Community was the recognition that Marca was *their* community. As happens in the terraces in the stadium, fans develop a territorial sense and attack any trespasser that dares to challenge the boundaries of that territory. *'It is surprising that the culerdos* [pejorative name for Barça fans] *come here to protest and criticize Marca's front page, specially when Barcelona comic books [meaning Catalonian sports newspapers] shit all over Real Madrid every day. If you don't like it, go home!'*

The anonymity of the community wherein users are solely identified by a nickname often provokes a sort of witch-hunting among the members. The hunting of the foreigner, that who does not belong in the community, turns everyone into a suspect. The next three comments are good example of that. *'Marca could be as well be named Marça* [implying it supports FC Barcelona] *because there are envious catalufos* [pejorative name for Catalans] *all around here'*; *'this small-time Catalonian paper of Marca'*; *'In Marca there are more Barça fans and Catalonians than from any other team'*.

In a particularly aggressive comment, a reader tried to make Barcelona fans refrain from commenting on the community by saying *'I also find it illegal Catalonian Government's Nazi propaganda but do not come to Marca to say it'*. The reader felt compelled to react against a perceived aggression. The rules of participation are annulled for a moment and are substituted by the laws of the land, stay off my property or I will feel entitled to shoot you, seems to be the thinking. This idea is shared by many other Marca Community members

'Catalonians from Sport [FC Barcelona supporting newspaper] *and all those separatist dailies come to Marca […] The Madridistas don't need to go to Sport to say stupid things'*. A number of Madrid fans openly equate Marca to Spain *'Live Spain and live Marca. Note: please abstain little Catalonians from commenting'*. By highlighting the Spanish identity they succeed to exclude Catalan identity fans from the discussion.

DISCUSSION

Comments referring to the medium have proved to be rare among the habits of Marca readers, less than 3 per cent. Yet, the vast majority of those comments included hateful remarks and therefore have to be considered undesirable from Marca's point of view. Almost every comment toward the medium contained inappropriate language and criticism, but on top of that, almost 3 out of 4 comments were considered hate speech according to the proposed working definition. In terms of absolute numbers, Marca management and moderation teams had to deal with over 4,000 hateful comments in ten days that threaten their business and the equity brand of the company.

In addition to that, what must be unequivocally troublesome for the company is the percentage of deletion of those messages. Only 54 per cent of them were tagged as inacceptable by the moderation platform and removed from the conversation, meaning that approximately 1,800 hateful comments passed through the filters and made it to the forum undetected. This relatively huge number of comments poses a threat to the readers' participation and might be harmful if the medium wants to promote a healthy discussion in its website. Also, given that virtually every comment referring to the medium was negative, they should re-evaluate what good comes from user commenting and the possible solutions to increase respectful media-reader dialogue (Ruiz et al., 2011; Lopez-Gonzalez and Guerrero-Solé, 2014).

Media usually do not disclose their deletion rates so there is no easy way to compare statistics between different newspapers and actually determine if the hateful comments found in Marca were a huge or a small number. More often than not scholars perform comment analysis on the 'visible part' of the forum because the deleted comments have been withdrawn from there. To circumvent this obstacle, some scholars have interviewed journalists to estimate the number of comments deleted in the moderation process. Reich (2011) roughly calculated that *The Guardian* (UK) and *The Washington Post* (USA) had less than 10 per cent of deleted comments, and the *Der Spiegel* (Germany) between 10 and 20 per cent. In another research on the derogatory language in the comments under the news Ruiz et al. (2011) discovered that elpais.com in Spain contained such language in the 13.4 per cent of the news comments, the highest proportion in Europe only surpassed by Lemonde.fr (23 per cent). The deletion rates observed in Marca, 14.40 per cent for the whole dataset and 15.41 for comments containing the word 'marca', seem to be in line with the findings on other online newspapers.

Deriving from the results of RQ4, we have found that supporters of Real Madrid and FC Barcelona indistinctively perceived Marca as a hostile media. Partisanship claims on both sides heated the debate and hate speech toward the medium derived greatly from this fact. The hostile media effect (Arpan and Raney, 2003; Lee, 2012), here only theoretically and not empirically approached, took place no matter which team the reader rooted for, and determined to a large extent the escalation of hate speech. Both Barcelona and Real Madrid fans found arguments to support the thesis that Marca was biased against them and articulated their narratives of hate accordingly. Barcelona fans hated Marca for supporting Madrid while Madrid fans hated Marca for not being aggressive enough against the enemy and required more censorship on them. According to this group of commentators, Marca should prevent Barcelona fans from ostentatiously discussing on a forum supposedly integrated by Madrid fans.

Due to the lack of research at the specific topic of comments under the news in the area of online sports discussion this work can only be considered an exploratory effort into the field. Among the limitations faced by the investigators we could single out two. First, the difficulty of finding an operational definition of hate speech makes very challenging the identification of what is and what is not hate speech. In our dataset, we had to be constantly discriminating between insults and derogatory language and those expressions that went further and constituted actual hateful language. The boundaries between controversial, harmful and hate speech are not clear enough yet. Second, this study has tried to move between a quantitative and a qualitative approach to the case study in order to draw the broadest possible map of the situation. In the future, as the research area gains attention and funding, a more specific research would be desirable.

CONCLUSION

Although sport as competition provides by itself the basic elements for confrontation and rivalry, these elements seem to be insufficient to exert hate speech toward the enemy and the medium. In the heat of the discussion political issues and national stereotypes enter the stage to increase the level of humiliation. It is interesting to see this happen because it shows that commentators, unlike news stories by Marca, which never expand the sporting conflict into a political or social Catalonia-Spain metaphorical combat (Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2012), are ready to go the extra mile and make use of whatever hurts the most the opposing side. Given this attitude, the medium has to be especially careful in the

moderation of its community of fans in order to avoid harmful contents.

This research has demonstrated that the moderation conducted by the medium does not prove to be useful to identify comments containing hate speech as observed by the poor connection between hateful comments and their deletion. Here the results suggest that online newspapers employing exclusively automatic moderation systems might be neglecting their responsibility of preventing hate expressions and could be facing some kind of liability in the near future.

The sporting context offers a unique perspective on the area of participatory journalism. The myth or illusion of interaction (Domingo, 2008; Jönsson and Örnebring, 2011) seems to be all the more relevant for sports journalism, since fans perceive sports chatting as a natural space for opinion sharing and free expression, a space for escaping the constraints of everyday life. The media company needs to be extremely cautious about censoring comments as readers find this fact very irritating and a cause for abandoning the community. Managing user-generated content is not an inexpensive task at all but the reward is the engagement of the public with the brand. Hate speech toward Marca was obviously not desirable but in an online sports forum, wherein a certain amount of verbal violence seems to be the rule, it came with no consequences for the medium. Altogether, the analyst senses some irony and humour in the hateful comments, as if the liberating component was actually prevailing over the explicit content of it, even though the liberation came in the form of hate speech.

QUANDO IL MEDIUM E' IL MESSAGGIO: ESPLORARE ODIO NELLE INTERAZIONI TRA MEDIA E LETTORI NEL GIORNALISMO SPORTIVO SPAGNOLO ON-LINE

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RIASSUNTO

Lo scopo di questo articolo è esaminare le modalità che portano i lettori che prendono parte alla sezione commenti dei giornali sportivi on line a intervenire con discorsi di incitamento all'odio nei confronti della testata. La ricerca si basa sulla comunità della versione on line del giornale sportivo Marca in Spagna, nell'ambito della rivalità Real Madrid vs Barcelona FC. L'articolo esamina il dilemma della testata tra lasciare libertà d'espressione ai suoi lettori e di conseguenza promuoverne la partecipazione oppure proteggere la propria identità di marca, minacciata da commenti contenenti incitazioni all'odio. Sebbene solo una piccola parte dei lettori si rivolga alla testata nei loro commenti, circa il 75% di questi contiene incitazioni all'odio, creando un clima di discussione molto violento.

Parole chiave: Giornalismo partecipativo, commenti, sport, incitamento all'odio, media ostili, Spagna.

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CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON HATE SPEECH IN NEWS WEBSITES' COMMENTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JÜRGEN HABERMAS'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the article is to characterize and compare the cognitive attitudes presented in selected works which reflect the dominant trends in contemporary researches on "hate speech". When determining these attitudes, the Habermasian concept of cognitive interests was used. Generally, in the text, the analysis of the term "hate speech" intertwines with discourse analysis. In most of the cited texts emancipatory threads clearly manifested themselves. Materials aimed at a cool, but in-depth understanding of the reasons for which messages defined as hateful occur in the public space, do not appear too often.

Keywords: hate speech, socio-political concept, emancipatory interest, technical interest, practical interest.

SODOBNE RAZISKAVE O SPLETNIH NOVIČARSKIH KOMENTARJIH S SOVRAŽNIM GOVOROM IZ PERSPEKTIVE TEORIJE ZNANJA JÜRGENA HABERMASA

IZVLEČEK

Glavni namen članka je opredeliti in primerjati kognitivna stališča, predstavljena v izbranih delih, ki odražajo prevladujoče trende na področju sodobnih raziskav o „sovražnem govoru". Pri določanju teh stališč je bil uporabljen Habermasov koncept kognitivnih interesov. V članku je analiza pojma »sovražni govor« kombinirana z analizo diskurza. V večini analiziranih besedil se jasno kažejo emancipatorne niti. Redka so besedila, katerih cilj je na svež in poglobljen način razumeti razloge, zaradi katerih se v javnem prostoru pojavljajo sporočila, opredeljena kot sovražna.

Ključne besede: sovražni govor, socio-političen concept, emancipatorni interes, tehnični interes, praktičen interes.

INTRODUCTION

The term "hate speech" enjoys great popularity today. It is used not only in colloquial speech or political disputes, but also as an element of lawyers' language, and legal language.[1] What's more, it is eagerly used by the representatives of *social sciences* and *humanities* as a scientific term.

The growing importance of the term "hate speech" encourages a thorough analysis of its semantic and pragmatic transformations. The present text focuses on the functioning of the term "hate speech" in scientific texts the authors of which investigate the presence of the said phenomena in the public space, and in particular in news websites' comments. The main purpose of the article is to characterize and compare the research attitudes presented in selected materials. In other words, the text is an attempt to answer the questions: "What cognitive attitudes do selected 'hate speech' researchers represent" and "How do their research attitudes co-create the epistemological horizon in the area of research on *hate speech* in news websites' comments?". Moreover, the article seeks to determine how the inevitable persuasiveness of the term "hate speech" may affect the sphere of the research objectives formulated and implemented by specific researchers. What is more, it attempts to pay attention to the new areas of reflection connected with "hate speech", which could develop as a result of the development of research on the consequences of rendering the said term scientific.

When determining the research attitudes present in the research on "hate speech", the concept of cognitive interests proposed by J. Habermas (1971) was used, which is not new, but which remains inspiring and organizing. The analysis was made against the background of the basic methodological assumptions widely accepted in the studies on the history of socio-political concepts (Richter, 1995; Koselleck, 2002). In differentiating between the denotative and connotative layer of the term "hate speech", reference was made to the classic concept of persuasive definitions by Charles L. Stevenson (1964). The methods used in the course of the research procedure are qualitative. In the text, the analysis of the term "hate speech" intertwines with discourse analysis.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In recent years, the literature on "hate speech" on the Internet, including in news websites' comments, has expanded at an impressive rate (e.g., Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Nagar, 2009; Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012; Santana, 2012; Borton, 2013; Bychawska-Siniarska & Głowacka, 2013). Despite its specificity, it should be viewed and analyzed in a broader context. It is a system of materials that represent a number of different ways of understanding the term "hate speech" and also reflect a wide range of methodological and ideological attitudes. In order to capture and understand this richness, individual texts on "hate speech" should not be read in isolation, but keeping in mind their mutual interrelations.

Despite being a part of a broader system, the studies of "hate speech" on the Internet, and in particular in news websites' comments, have their own specificity. The uniqueness of this field of research is connected with the widespread – though not always verbalized – ideas about the nature of communication on the Internet. Generally speaking, when reflecting on the specifics of the Internet network as a channel of spreading hatred, a number of researchers draw attention to: a wider range of influence of the Internet than of traditional media (e.g., Jaishankar, 2008; Borton, 2013); its interactivity (e.g., Borton, 2013); its cross-border reach and related challenges, including those of legal nature (e.g., Fraser, 2009; Podemski, 2013); the real or illusory anonymity of Internet communication (e.g., Santana, 2012; Bodnar, 2013; Łętowska, 2013); its cheapness, and the ease of mobilization and co-mobilization through the network (e.g., Jaishankar, 2008, Kuz'min, 2008). All these aspects have a strong impact on research imagination. They co-create the image of the network as a medium which is extraordinarily open and dangerous at the same time. News websites' comments may, however, be seen as a space in which the outsiders of modern public communication reveal their intentions, while exchanging opinions about their own and social attitudes. In the light of this narrative, news websites' comments turn out to be a tool with the use of which the authors of hateful messages seek to inform the public about whom they blame, what they blame them for, why they perceive particular social groups in a given way,

1 The Council's of Europe Committee of Ministers has recommended that "the term *hate speech* shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin" (Recommendation 97(20) on "hate speech"). Moreover, according to "Factsheet on Hate Speech", "ECHR has identified a number of forms of expression which are to be considered offensive and contrary to the Convention (including racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, aggressive nationalism and discrimination against minorities and immigrants). However, the Court is also careful to make a distinction in its findings between, on the one hand, genuine and serious incitement to extremism and, on the other hand, the right of individuals (including journalists and politicians) to express their views freely and to *offend, shock or disturb* others. There is no universally accepted definition of the expression *hate speech*. The Court's case-law has established certain parameters making it possible to characterize *hate speech* in order to exclude it from the protection afforded to freedom of expression (Article 10 of the Convention) or freedom of assembly and association (Article 11)" (Factsheet on hate speech, 2013).

what they expect, and what they would like to change and how. Thus, news websites' comments appear to be a window which allows an insight into the life of anti-culture, which rejects the standards officially governing relationships and forms its own complex system of *counter-mores*.

The fact that the field of research on "hate speech" is an eclectic one is almost universally known. Hence, most works which make use of this term contain an assertion that it is both ambiguous and unclear. In order to avoid this inconvenience, many authors inform their readers about how they understand the term "hate speech" and why they decided to assign a particular meaning to it (e.g., Walker, 1994; Butler, 1997; Wolfson, 1997; Gelber, 2002; Cortese, 2006; Waltman & Haas, 2011; Hertz & Molnar, 2012; Baez, 2013; Boromisza-Habashi, 2013). However, the selection of meta-analyses in which the focus is not on "hate speech" itself but rather on the research on "hate speech" has remained poor. Moreover, there are no analyses focusing on the issue of rendering the term scientific and on the epistemological consequences of this phenomenon.

The already mentioned meta-analysis by D. Boromisza-Habashi (2013) should be recognized as a particularly successful and inspiring one. In it, the author treated scientific comments on "hate speech" as the ones which – along with non-scientific comments – form a bundle of cultural phenomena, which can and should be examined with the help of the tools developed by the ethnography of communication. It should also be emphasized that despite the fact that several years have passed since the creation of the aforesaid study, the description of the literature on the topic presented therein remains valid and worthy of attention. It should be treated as a starting point for any meta-analytical work, driven by the desire to present the contemporary literature on "hate speech" as a collection of sources. In the light of the observations by D. Boromisza-Habashi, it is clear that this collection tells a lot about its authors – their attitudes to science, their vision of practicing science, its objectives, and about their cognitive attitudes in general.

According to the observations contained in "Hate Speech as Cultural Practice", the literature on the literature on "hate speech" is dominated by studies demonstrating the accuracy or inaccuracy of the previous analyses. In particular, there are many works which criticize the proponents or opponents of specific legal practices relating to the freedom of speech. There are also works in which their authors define themselves as active participants in the public discourse on "hate speech", who cannot refrain from engaging in the defense of certain values. Some meta-texts present an argumentation according to which, despite an enormous discord as to the meaning of the term "hate speech", solutions in this field can be evaluated and ranked as better or worse. Finally, there are meta-texts the authors of which try to show the "primary symbols" which could structure or which do structure the scientific discourse on "hate speech".

In the light of the main assumptions broadly accepted in this field – neatly formulated by Koselleck (2009) – language and social reality interact (transformations of terms are conditioned on social change and vice versa). As a result of this mutual conditioning, the reality described, the way in which it is described, and the ongoing relationship between the two must all be taken into account when studying concepts. Koselleck (2009) also recommended to intensely explore the metamorphoses of the basic concepts, so important for a given community that without them there could be no efficient socio-political communication. Terms of this type – e.g., state, law, nation, government, citizen, family – have been assigned multiple denotations and connotations in the course of their long-term use. Needless to say, the sense and meanings attached to them are not innocent, but they have an impact on both the intellect and emotions. For this reason, language users often have fierce and unsolvable arguments on how to understand them and how to use them in the public space (Koselleck, 2009).

The article also uses the studies of J. Habermas's epistemolgical views. His concept in particular increases the awareness of the normative assumptions that lie at the root of various ways of characterizing and explaining research practices. By adapting its assumptions to the purposes of this article, it can be concluded that scientific research can be motivated by three types of interests. As a consequence, three research areas can be distinguished, i.e. space controlled by technical interest; space controlled by practical interest and space controlled by emancipatory interest (Habermas, 1971; Bohman & Rehg, 2011; Piontek, Hordecki, Ossowski, 2013).

Technical interest, understood as the most primordial, manifests itself in a typical human desire to control nature, aimed at facilitating survival. As a result of sublimation of this attitude – in accordance with the reasoning of J. Habermas – people began to practice science understood as discovering the laws of nature. The knowledge of such laws is seen as the key to increasingly more complex transformations of reality. Transformation manifests itself in finding more and more improvements, tools and techniques that facilitate the use of objects (Habermas, 1971). Practical interest – encourages interpretation activities. It is associated with the human need to understand and communicate. The necessity of its implementation results from the fact that having a rich and valuable knowledge of the world is not automatically tantamount to being able to use it in the most effective way. Sciences motivated by practical interest are therefore aimed at transferring intellectual achievements, and on their basis communities develop the procedures for using the resources available to them (Habermas, 1971). Emancipatory interest stems from the longing for freedom. It is also based on pursuing change – because of change people critically reflect upon reality. Critical

thinking has given rise to disciplines which try to expose technical and practical achievements as sources of slavery and limitations. In the light of this attitude, along with the development of technical sciences (production of knowledge) and practical sciences (production of order), the field of individual choices is narrowing down and inequalities between people are growing. As a result, discrimination is developing and superstition, stereotypes, prejudice and oppression are multiplying. We should fight them in the name of justice (Habermas, 1971).

The views of Ch. L. Stevenson (1964), necessary to present the essence of a persuasive definition, are quoted from the collection of his texts published in 1964. Referring to a slightly modified terminology of Charles L. Stevenson, we can conclude that argumentation uses the static layer of words, while persuasion – the dynamic layer. They can be told apart relatively easily, if we take into account the fact that "Broadly speaking, there are two different purposes which lead us to use language. On the one hand we use words (as in science) to record, clarify, and communicate beliefs. On the other hand we us words to give vent to our feelings (interjections), or to create mood] (poetry), or to incite people to actions or attitudes (oratory)" (Stevenson, 1964, 16-20). In pursuing the first objective, the sender is more likely to refer to the relatively defined descriptive meaning, i.e. he or she takes into account – exclusively or almost exclusively – the set of designates which the words used represent.[2] To achieve the remaining objectives, the sender deliberately uses elusive emotive meanings. According to Ch. L. Stevenson, the latter are "a tendency of words I express or evoke states of mind in the people who use the words" (Stevenson 1964, 20). In the light of the foregoing, it was also recognized that the problems with using the term "hate speech" were primarily associated with the fact that its relatively defined descriptive meaning was blurred. At the same time, the emotive meanings contained therein are very clear or easy to grasp. As a result, the user of the term "hate speech" inevitably runs the risk of the content of their comment being overshadowed by the form, and the attempt to describe and explain reality being superseded by an assessment and agitation. Thus, he or she *nolens volens* creates a message that cannot show what reality is like or what it appears to be, but argues what it should be or how it should be changed. At the same time, the key definition, based on which a text will become a carrier of a certain vision of the world, will not be created with due attention to appropriateness. It will most likely be a definition which is supposed to change mentality, and therefore a *persuasive definition*.

In the analysis of the concept of "hate speech" it was also taken into account that in the well-known article published in 1938 in the "Mind" journal and later reprinted in the work "Facts and Values", Ch. L. Stevenson (1964) showed that the creation of persuasive definitions is the daily bread of philosophers. "There are hundreds of words which, like *culture*, have both a vague conceptual meaning and a rich emotive meaning. The conceptual meaning of them all is subject to constant redefinition" (Stevenson, 1964, 35). Moreover, in his opinion, it is easy to see that this operation appears in everyday speech so often that, so far, linguists have taken very little interest in it, treating it as being too obvious. As observed by Ch. Stevenson, people often use such expressions as „true freedom", „real freedom", „true love", „real love", „true success", „real success" (Stevenson, 1964, 35). By using them they refer to things which they find valuable and worthy of affirmation. „The words are prizes which each man seeks to bestow on the qualities of his own choice" (Stevenson, 1964, 35). Thus, persuasive definitions are created by a specific use of emotive and descriptive meanings – the sender uses the positive or negative connotation of the former to modify the latter (Stevenson, 1964, 35). The foregoing comments served as a framework which made it possible to consider the consequences of rendering the term "hate speech" more scientific. Based on the analysis of the literature, it was observed that it had often been treated as a scientific term, subject to much stricter disambiguations than colloquial expressions. A number of researchers adapt it as a label which denotes a certain group of communication phenomena – but at the same time they do not agree as to its scope.

METHOD

The comments presented in this text are meta-analytical. It was not "hate speech" itself which was analyzed, but rather texts on "hate speech". As has already been mentioned, the method used in this study is a combination of conceptual analysis and discourse analysis. The conceptual analysis focused primarily on the term "hate speech", while its general assumptions were derived from the methodology of research on the history of socio-political concepts (Richter, 1995; Koselleck, 2002, Koselleck, 2009).

In the study it was assumed that at present it is difficult to tell whether or not the term "hate speech" will become one of the basic terms which program the dominant socio-political thinking and practices of modern times. However, it was also recognized that its current popularity poses specific problems to socio-political actors (a trend to use vague but emotionally charged expressions). As a consequence, it was noted that the expansion of the term "hate speech" in contemporary public discourse is conducive to substituting argumen-

2 Ch.L Stevenson sometimes referred to descriptive meaning as conceptual or referential meaning. However, due to the ambiguity of the terms "concept" and "reference", it is better to avoid these last two expressions.

tation with persuasion. As a result, a field of research on "hate speech" developed, within which various concepts thereof compete with one another. Each concept – regardless of the degree of its methodological establishment – is embedded in a kind of axiology and focused on achieving objectives specific thereto. An attempt was made to define the aforementioned axiologies and objectives with the use of a typology of knowledge constitutive interests/attitudes proposed by J. Habermas, which is not new, but which is still valuable from the epistemological point of view.

Having examined the structure of the term "hate speech" and identified Habermasian knowledge constitutive interests – an analysis of texts dealing with "hate speech", including "hate speech" in news websites' comments, was carried out. Taking into account the limitations associated with the size of a scientific article, when discussing the results, the author decided to present only the analysis of the exemplary yet characteristic and relevant texts. Thus, the following materials were interpreted: (1) texts by Robert Post, Ireneusz C. Kamiński, C.E. Baker and E. Łętowska, on the basis of which it was possible to clearly demonstrate how the representatives of legal discourse most often used the term "hate speech" and how they practiced science; (2) texts by L. M. Nijakowski and S. Kowalski, which helped to illustrate how the term "hate speech" can be used and how scientific reflection within the framework of sociology oriented towards discourse analysis can be designed; what is more, thanks to the presentation of the text by L. M. Nijakowski it was possible to clearly demonstrate the consequences of defining "hate speech" in a non-intuitive manner, inconsistent with language practice; (3) the materials prepared by Obserwatorium Wolności Mediów w Polsce [The observatory of media freedom in Poland] and some other reports on "hate speech", including hate speech in news website's comments– to demonstrate a purely emancipatory way of using the term "hate speech" and the phenomenon of justifying one's views by convincing others of their scientific and undisputed nature; (4) texts by Mikhail Kroz and Natalia Ratinova, to show the emancipatory aspects of the psychological variety of research on "hate speech"; (5) the text by A. M Vierkhovsky, to present a procedure involving a seemingly objective, or at least objectified, hierarchization of the acts described as "hate speech"; (6) the text by M. Głowiński, in order to present how the researcher renders the term related to "hate speech", i.e. "the rhetoric of hatred", scientific; what is more, through the presentation of this text the present author was able to clearly demonstrate the consequences of defining "hate rhetoric" in an intuitive manner, consistent with linguistic practice.

In analyzing and evaluating the materials mentioned above, the following parameters were taken into consideration: (1) the meaning of the term "hate speech" proposed by a given author; (2) the meaning of other key terms used by the author; (3) objectives the achievement of which the author declared in the text and the nature of these objectives (the answer to the question of whether the material focused on the implementation of cognitive, practical/hermeneutic or emancipatory tasks); (4) research methods used by the author; (5) axiological assumptions declared and implemented in the text; (6) epistemological assumptions declared and implemented in the text.

RESULT

The results are presented in accordance with the order of the analyzed texts. Materials representing a wide range of disciplines were analyzed this way. These include legal and sociological texts, texts on media studies inspired by the law and sociology (including media monitoring reports), as well as psychological and linguistic texts.

Knowledge constitutive interests in legal texts

It should be emphasized that the literature abounds with texts the authors of which try to describe in detail where and how the law is used today as a tool for combating comments seen as hateful and worthy of punishment by the socio-political elites and / or large social groups. The reflections of Robert C. Post and Ireneusz C. Kamiński are a good example of this. The former, when characterizing the development of regulations limiting the various forms of hate speech, tries to identify a number of practical problems associated with the implementation of the do's and don'ts in this regard. The latter is the author of numerous publications in which he attempts to describe and explain the development of appropriate standards of the Council of Europe, formed primarily along with the evolution of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights (Kamiński, 2010, 179).

This way of researching the issues related to hate speech seems to stem from technical and practical motives. Both authors create texts which make it easier to understand the development of modern legal systems. They also broaden the knowledge of how to distinguish between what today's society or their elites consider to be an extreme and non-extreme statement, a statement deserving / not deserving to be morally criticized, and finally a statement deserving / not deserving to be addressed by the authorities. The authors intend their research to facilitate the work of lawyers, journalists, press spokespersons, creators of advertisements, and a number of other communication professionals. Moreover, one can find in them a certain emancipatory intent – the desire to free the reader from the uncertainty of the boundaries between legal and illegal speech.

A slightly different way of conducting research on hate speech can be found in the texts by C. Edwin Baker (2009, 140-157) and Ewa Łętowska (2013, 15-20). These

authors, starting from the analysis of the law governing the punishment for hate speech, oppose the excessive – in their opinion – regulation of the sphere of permitted comments. What is evident in their texts is the fear that the noble intentions of the opponents of hatred can result in laws which, in the long run, could destroy the actual freedom of conscience, religion, thought, expression, opinion, print and press. The described approach resounds in a particularly interesting way in the views of E. Łętowska (2013), who clearly emphasizes that with the development of new means of communication there appear more and more temptations associated with the overregulation of communication. She maintains that the specificity of the Internet leads people to thinking that there should be a special law governing its use. What is more, in her opinion, the spontaneity and the wide reach of this medium create the temptation to punish the instances of hate speech in an extremely harsh way. Moreover, the desire to make the law stricter is often underpinned with a belief that the profit-oriented online forum moderators deliberately avoid the removal of even the most drastic comments. However, according to E. Łętowska (2013), the problem – at least in Poland – lies not so much with the law but rather with the lack of its consistent implementation. In her opinion, Polish regulations allow authorities to effectively respond to the cases of abuse of freedom of expression – what is needed is the will to act (Łętowska, 2013, 15-19).

The texts by C. E. Baker and E. Łętowska seem to be primarily inspired by the emancipatory interest. Nevertheless, they also play an important technical and practical role. The emancipatory quality of this type of materials manifests itself mainly in pointing out that the freedoms of individuals, even in developed democracies, are not guaranteed once and for all, but require constant protection and care. The authors' approach also reveals a fear resulting from the fact that noble intentions have often led to the imposition of the will of the stronger upon the weaker. Moreover, in accordance with the said authors, too intense ousting of hate speech from public space can destroy pluralism, excessively narrowing down the range of positions expressed by individuals troubled by the uncertainty of whether their comments are lawful or not. What is more, these texts should be regarded as an encouragement to search for the answer to the question of how regulations alter behavior and interpersonal relationships. Finally, the articles by C. E. Baker and E. Łętowska also contain serious specialist legal knowledge, facilitating the efficient use of the law, and in particular its accurate interpretation.

Lech Nijakowski's emancipatory approach

However, texts on hate speech, in particular the hate speech found on the Internet and in news websites' comments, are dominated by the works of activists who want to define "hate speech" in order to be able to fight it. Materials of this type usually belong to the broadly-understood field of research on discourse (discourse analysis). This trend is clearly seen in the article "Hate speech in the light of the theory of discourse" by Lech M. Nijakowski (2008).

In it, the author assumed that the "scientific relevance" of the term "hate speech" is "indisputable", as evidenced by the "achievements of the discourse theory and analysis". He also concluded that because of the politicization of the term, "it is very difficult to use and encounters a number of emotional [and therefore extra-rational (?) – B. H.] criticism" (Nijakowski, 2008). Moreover, he stated that the purpose of the article was to "attempt a detailed definition of *hate speech* in the Polish public discourse and its operationalization – suggesting some indicators and instruments making it possible to determine whether a given text should be considered as an example of hate speech or whether such an accusation should be rejected (Nijakowski, 2008).

Most importantly, in the light of the approach presented by L. M. Nijakowski, practicing hate speech is independent of the intentions of the sender. In other words, according to his observations, the scientific evaluation of linguistic actions can and should ignore the motives and reasons due to which the sender formulated their message. Thus, a situation in which the sender unintentionally creates a statement that meets the criteria for classifying it as "hate speech" is possible. ("At this point it must be emphasized YET AGAIN that the category of intention is not essential in discourse analysis. It does not matter whether the person reproducing hate speech does so to harm the vilified group or whether his or her words are a behavioral expression of his or her strong prejudice against a foreign group. Very often anti-Semitic comments are made by people who are driven simply by the desire to strengthen the Polish-Jewish dialog.") (Nijakowski, 2008).

The "objectified" proposal of L. Nijakowski boils down to the assumption that there are five determinants of hate speech. These include: 1 Over-generalization of a negative quality; 2 Assigning a particularly negative characteristics; 3 Disregard, undermining the rituals of respect; 4 Cataloging and comparing the representatives of the hated group; 5 Group object of hatred (Nijakowski, 2008).

It should be emphasized that the understanding of the term "hate speech" referred to above no longer reflects the emotive meaning of the term "hate". Moreover, its components have not been clearly defined. The qualities mentioned by the author can be attributed to different language phenomena in a purely arbitrary manner. Thus – if a researcher decides to use the term "hate speech" proposed by L. M. Nijakowski, a possibility opens up for them to decide, to a large extent arbitrarily and in line with their own likes and dislikes, which of the tested comments should be considered as hateful (Nijakowski, 2008).

Finally, as a result of the efforts of the author, a persuasive definition is created, however, the author himself is not certain whether it can be treated as a definition ("it has many drawbacks"). Therefore, to be on the safe side, he concludes that hate speech cannot be properly defined, but also does not need to be. It is enough to use the term with a "sociological", "cultural", "anthropological" or some other scientific intuition, which will inevitably make it possible to tell the difference between the cases of hateful comments and other linguistic acts (Nijakowski, 2008).

Accordingly, L. M. Nijakowski proposes the following definition – as a support for scientific analyses: "As can be seen in the light of the foregoing remarks, hate speech is a phenomenon strongly dependent on the context, and for this reason it is exceptionally difficult to define. It seems, however, that the indicated characteristics of this type of discourse allow a general definition. Hate speech consists in assigning particularly negative qualities to and / or calling for discriminatory action against a certain social category, especially one the membership of which is seen as a *natural* (resulting from classification), and not chosen. *The naturalness* of a given category is the result of social negotiations, and not expertise" (Nijakowski, 2008).

It should be emphasized that in the light of L. M. Nijakowski's arguments, a definition was created according to which the connotation and denotation of the term "hate speech" do not match at all, therefore, the author uses the term in a non-intuitive way, which the recipient most likely finds misleading. The denotation proposed by the author, even though imperfect and imprecise, is supposed to be objective, devoid of emotions, based on hard criteria – though embedded in a context, and determined independently of the intentions of the sender. The connotation, however, cannot be subjected to this kind of treatment – referring to something as "hate speech" arouses intense emotions and almost inevitably suggests that the one who used a given expression genuinely hates, and therefore is a carrier and a sower of hatred (even if they are not aware of it – because ultimately their language exposes them – hermeneutics of suspicion, we are all suspects, we are all enslaved by language).

As a consequence, L. M. Nijakowski's concept appears to be motivated primarily by the emancipatory interest. Its author is interested in "hate speech" because he sees its presence as a manifestation of outrageous slavery. Both the recipients and the carriers are enslaved here. The role of the researcher – in the light of this approach – is therefore to expose haters, which should be understood as a painful but necessary diagnosis. Without it there is no way one could think of a democratic society, without it there is no way one could dream about curing those who are ill with hatred.

There is, therefore, a tension in the literature between the connotation of the term "hate speech" and the attempts to make the term more scientific, separate from the feelings and intentions of the author of a given comment under consideration. It should be emphasized, however, that there are also voices in science, according to which formally defined hate speech is what the connotation of the term suggests, i.e. a proof of hatred felt by the author of the hateful comment.

Other emancipatory proposals

Emancipatory intentions are also included in the definition of "hate speech" proposed by Sergiusz Kowalski (2010, 238-241). According to the author, "hate speech" means insulting and humiliating groups, and if it is applied to individuals – it is only because of their membership in a given group; the insulted, humiliated groups are natural or at least are very difficult to leave; the membership of individuals in groups is a phenomenon from the sphere of imagination, similarly to the characteristics and activities of the insulted and humiliated groups, which are created in the mind of the recipient without any attempts to verify these ideas.

Yet another example is the proposal by Mikhail Kroz and Natalia Ratinova (2005, 75-92). In the opinion of these researchers, hateful comments are deceitful by definition. According to the aforementioned authors, the specificity of hateful messages stems from mendacity at the level identification and / or attribution. Moreover, messages of this type are often formulated as seemingly defensive, and are in fact a disguised incitement to violence.

The characterized emancipatory attitude should be seen as a rich source of texts calling for the fight against hate speech, especially on the Internet. The publication entitled „Mowa nienawiści w interencie: jak z nią walczyć?" [Hate speech on the Internet: how to fight it] published by Obserwatorium Wolności Mediów w Polsce [The observatory of media freedom in Poland], is an explicit example of this kind of texts. The work contains a lot of materials the authors of which try to balance – with varying degrees of success and accuracy – the need to fight hatred with the need to protect freedom of expression.

A wide range of different reports on the prevalence of hatred in online communications corresponds to materials of this type. Such publications are usually the result of the implementation of various grants and programs aimed at counteracting racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance. Reports of this type are often founded by various associations and foundations which aim to build a civil society and promote democracy and human rights (Czarnecki, 2009**;** Dzjaloshinskij, 2007; Dzjaloshinskij & Dzjaloshinskaja, 2007; Dubrovskij & Karpenko, 2003; Gliszczyńska, Sękowska-Kozłowska, Wieruszewski, 2007; Kowalski & Tulli, 2004; McGonagle, 2013).

The emancipatory interest can also be seen in the various typologies of hate utterances. The classificati-

on into "hard hate speech", "medium hate speech" and "soft hate speech" proposed by A. M. Verhovskij is just one example. This concept remains arbitrary in two senses. First of all, the author establishes the subcategories of "hard", "medium" and "soft" hate speech in a rather arbitrary manner. Second of all, the classification of specific comments into particular categories cannot have the form of subjective "capturing of the implicit content of the studied comments", based on some kind of "research intuition" or "getting the feel of the sender's intentions" (Verhovskij, 2002).

Michał Głowiński's "rhetoric of hatred"

An interesting emancipatory position can be found in the texts by M. Głowiński, who uses the term "rhetoric of hatred", contrasting it with the term "rhetoric of empathy". In his approach, the various features of political comments taken together become a proof of the extremely negative emotions and intentions of the author – a proof that the author treats certain people or groups as enemies who are dangerous, and therefore do not deserve understanding but need to be annihilated (Głowiński, 2009).

According to the characteristics of "hate rhetoric", those who practice it assume that "Anyone who is considered an enemy that must be destroyed (the sooner the better!) can be treated as an object of hatred; in this approach, being the enemy is a certain predetermined role, absolutely not subjective, i.e. independent of the person to whom such a role is assigned (the case is similar with institutions and organizations)". At the same time, "*rhetoric of empathy* is the opposite of *rhetoric of hatred*. Even when used for the purpose of arguing with persons, institutions or organizations in a highly critical manner, it shows some understanding of the other party, it recognizes that what the representatives of the opposite party say, represent and aim at is not simply the result of ill will, bad intentions, despicable, condemnable games"; "In other words, hatred and contempt do not become an absolutely dominant factor in a comment" (Głowiński, 2009).

In particular, M. Głowiński sees "rhetoric of hatred" as a rhetoric of absolute arguments (Głowiński, 2009); moreover, it treats the persons it deals with not as persons with opposing views but as objects of evaluation, analysis; it is constructed based on dichotomous divisions; it is based on a conspiracy vision of reality; it is connected with using emotionally unambiguous terms; the subject of this rhetoric presents themselves as a carrier of absolute and therefore non-negotiable truths (Głowiński, 2009).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

When working out the details of the research problem formulated in the introduction, the question was raised of whether it was possible, on the basis of the presented materials, to decide which of the three epistemological attitudes indicated by J. Habermas seemed to prevail in contemporary research on "hate speech", and in particular on "hate speech" on the Internet. This question harmonizes with the main purpose of the article (to characterize and compare the research attitudes presented in selected works which reflect the dominant trends in the study of statements defined as "hate speech"). Therefore, when analyzing the selected texts, the answers to the questions formulated in its final paragraph were tried to find. Attention was also paid to the question of whether hate speech researchers formulated technical, practical and emancipatory objectives in an explicit or implicit manner (significant, though auxiliary indicator of methodological awareness of the researchers). Finally, yet another question was whether it was possible to identify concepts the proponents of which tried to design their research so as to balance the implementation of technical, practical and emancipatory objectives (integrated research, which appear to be a chance for the most objectified results).

In the course of the analysis, it was observed that in most of the cited texts emancipatory threads clearly manifested themselves. This phenomenon seems to apply to the vast majority of texts dealing with "hate speech". It can be assumed that, to a large extent, it is a result of the nature of the term "hate speech", which is too emotionally charged to successfully serve as a scientific term. For every definition of the term "hate speech" which has been rendered scientific, to a lesser or greater extent triggers a string of negative experiences and associations, encouraging a fight against the disseminators of the communication referred to by that name.

The popularity of utilitarian attitudes, on the other hand, can explain the fact that it is possible to observe a discourse in which – in accordance with the ideal of technical sciences within the Habermasian meaning – participants attempt to describe and explain in an objectified way the specific legal solutions related to "hate speech". Texts of this type often attempt to answer the question of why certain regulations apply or do not apply in a particular place and time.

In the area of research under consideration, there are also texts inspired by the technical-practical-emancipatory interest. Their authors, declaring a strong belief in the usefulness of their arguments, do not stop at the descriptive characteristics of a given legal status associated with "hate speech". They also try to determine whether regulations should be amended or not – the conclusions of their texts often contain *de lege lata* or *de lege ferenda* proposals.

The use of the term "hate speech" in science correlates poorly with the practical attitudes of researchers. Texts aimed at a cool, but in-depth understanding of the reasons for which messages defined as hateful occur in the public space, do not appear too often. It is also diffi-

cult to find comparative studies demonstrating messages motivated by hatred in comparison with messages motivated by other feelings.

It should once again be emphasized that the range of literature on "hate speech" is so broad that it is impossible to become familiar with all the works in this field. It should also be noted that the analysis was primarily based on the interpretationistic methodology. Hence, a large number of conclusions formulated in the present text have to remain presumptions, be it probable.

Moreover, as has already been noted, the article contains a brief analysis of only selected texts on "hate speech". Hence, the presented conclusions undoubtedly require further, in-depth analysis. What is more, the catalog of texts the authors of which cultivate research on "hate speech" in a specific way should be significantly expanded. However, the presented material allows novel insights into the condition of contemporary research on "hate speech", including hateful news websites' comments. This text does not ignore the existing research on the cultural specificity of the discourses and metadiscourses on "hate speech". However, it is not a text written from the perspective of the researcher examining communication cultures.

The article shows that rendering the term "hate speech" scientific is a supracultural act. First and foremost, it is conductive to the dissemination of the already described, specific constellation of ideas about the social sciences and humanities. This constellation has certain consequences – one of which is the utilization of the investigation of the phenomena which researchers choose to refer to as described above.

The most important conclusion which follows from the considerations presented in the article comes down to the statement that every researcher who decides to refer to certain messages as "hate speech", *nolens volens*, to a lesser or greater extent, infuses their text with persuasion. Thus, at least to some extent, they reject the concept of science, in the light of which they are obliged to act argumentatively, but at the same time in accordance with the scientific standards laid down in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (in particular, the abandonment of Weber's postulate of "freedom from valuation" (1985)).

Meanwhile, although this postulate should be formulated with a certain degree of shyness, it may be fitting to assume that, at a time when the Internet tempts us in so many ways – to become popular, to participate in the global circulation of opinions and to compete for recipients, the role of social and humanities research conducted in the traditional way is particularly important. Perhaps due to this temptation, the humanities and social sciences which would not attempt to coin new terms to attract attention with, would have specifically important tasks to complete – the task of being a witness, not influential, but significant; the task of proving that even in the highly interactive environment of today we can and we have to do more thinking than communicating, reflect more on the appropriateness than on creating messages, playing acts, or developing theories and narratives which the world has never seen before.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the meta-analysis proposed herein can and should be placed in the context of broader research on the persuasiveness of the terms used in the texts on non-axiologically-neutral speech. With the help of the categories used to dissect the term "hate speech" rendered scientific, a number of other persuasive expressions naturalized in modern science can be analyzed, such as "extreme speech", "the language of hostility", "fighting words", "excitable speech", "political correctness", "insult of religious feelings", "blasphemy", "freedom of speech", "freedom of conscience and religion", "violation of personal rights", "defamation", "defamation of religion", "insult", "discrimination", "intolerance".

What is more, the theoretical framework proposed in this article makes it possible to investigate the epistemological awareness which reveals itself in the scientific text containing the said terms. As a consequence, there is hope that through this type of investigations, many important features which make up the mentality of contemporary researchers analyzing current public discourses will be identified. Moreover, it makes it possible to determine – in the course of in-depth studies – which one of the three Habermasian cognitive attitudes dominates in the contemporary research on these discourses, if any. This finding would be an important achievement in the field of sensible reflection on the functions that the aforesaid research has in societies heavily saturated with various communication technologies.

The theoretical originality of the text lies in highlighting the consequences of making the term "hate speech" scientific despite its extremely vague denotation, but also very strong connotation. So far, no due attention has been paid to the fact that the denotative vagueness and connotative intensity of the term "hate speech" to large extent determine the attitudes of researchers and significantly affect the results achieved / created by them. The text also illustrates the consequences of a radical departure from colloquial meanings and senses, which is something many researches using the term "hate speech" do.

Understanding the impact of the term "hate speech" on the attitudes of researchers analyzing such phenomena is also important in the social context. An extensive knowledge of the problems associated with making the said term more scientific may prevent the fetishization of research results, in particular by the media and political actors. What is more, the popularization of the knowledge of the cognitive attitudes of researchers could possibly prevent the politicization of their achievements, as well as stop them from being turned into a source of manipulation. Moreover, being aware of the difficulties associated with making the term "hate spe-

ech" scientific should be regarded as a necessary, be it insufficient condition for the dialog between the scientific community and other communities coexisting in the public space (agreement as a necessary step towards overcoming alienation between professions).

The studies presented in the text form part of a program of popularization of "fruitful discussion", outlined years ago by Roman Ingarden (1998). They emphasize the fact that "especially the multitude of specialized scientific languages of individual groups and schools of thought and the force of the habit to use one's own language only, the reluctance to think in any other language, making it impossible to regain the inner freedom of man, create real walls between different people and communities (scientific, artistic, cultural, religious), walls hindering or altogether preventing reaching an agreement on many theoretical, and – even worse – practical issues. What is meant to be a means for communicating and agreeing on the same proposition, becomes a barrier which often proves impossible to overcome. Moreover, it is not just a barrier to reaching an agreement between people, but also to reaching out to the reality seen and linguistically expressed by someone else. Therefore, stubbornly sticking to one's own language, one's own way of understanding and valuating things, is precisely this lack of inner freedom which makes any attempts at discussions between people illusory." (Ingarden, 1998, 174-175).

RICERCA CONTEMPORANEA SUL DISCORSO INCITANTE ALL'ODIO NEI COMMENTI SUI SITI DI NEWS: DALLA PROSPETTIVA DELLA TEORIA DI JÜRGEN HABERMAS SUL SAPERE

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RIASSUNTO

Lo scopo principale dell'articolo consiste in caratterizzare e paragonare gli approci cognitivi presenti in articoli selezionati che riflettono le tendenze dominanti negli studi contemporanei di "discorsi di odio". Determinando questi approcci prima di tutto si è serviti del concetto degli interessi costituenti la cognizione (Habermas). Inoltre, è stato fatto il riferimento alle premesse metodologiche vastamente accettate in ambito degli studi sulla storia dei concetti socio-politici e al concetto delle definizioni persuasive di Ch. L. Stevenson. In generale, nel testo viene evidenziata l'alternanza tra l'analisi del concetto di „hate speech" e l'analisi del discorso. Nella maggior parte dei testi analizzati ben distinguibili sono i fili d'emancipazione. È possibile presumere che nella gran parte ciò risulti dalla natura del concetto di „hate speech" la cui è fortemente caratterizzata emotivamente per servire bene come termine scientifico. Sono visibili anche le prove di descrizione e di spiegazione oggettiva volte a presentare le precise soluzioni legali legate al „discorso d'odio". Invece, prima di tutto, mancano i testi volti a concepire le cause per cui i messaggi definiti come odiosi sono presenti nell'area pubblica.

Parole chiave: hate speech, concetto socio-politica, interesse emancipazione, interesse tecnico, interesse pratico.

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LIMITS OF HATE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH ON MODERATED NEWS WEBSITES IN FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UK

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses and compares the structure and moderation practices of comment fields on news websites in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands and Great Britain. The focus is on the tension between freedom of speech and moderation of hate speech and cyberhate. The research data is comprised of interviews with 16 moderators along with analysis of comment field structure and guidelines for moderation practices from 18 news websites. The news media actively prevents hate speech and cyberhate in ways that differ by country. Nonetheless, hate speech and cyberhate on news websites is similar in all countries and moderated based on three types of regulations: laws, media ethics and self-regulatory guidelines.

Keywords: news comments, freedom of speech, hate speech, cyberhate, moderation.

I LIMITI DEL DISCORSO INCITANTE ALL'ODIO E LA LIBERTA' DI PAROLA IN SITI DI NEWS CON MODERAZIONE IN FINLANDIA, SVEZIA, PAESI BASSI, E GRAN BRETAGNA

SINTESI

Nell' articolo sono discusse e comparate le strutture e le prassi di moderazione negli spazi per i commenti nei siti web di notizie in Finlandia, Svezia, Paesi Bassi e Gran Bretagna. Particolare attenzione è rivolta alla tensione tra la libertà di parola e la moderazione degli hate speech (messaggi di istigazione all'odio) e del cyberhate (cyberodio). I dati della ricerca consistono in interviste effettuate a 16 moderatori e nell'analisi delle strutture del campo per commenti e indicazioni per le prassi di moderazione presenti in 18 siti web di notizie. La stampa si impegna attivamente a combattere gli hate speech e il cyberhate sui siti web di notizie in modi che variano tra i diversi Paesi. Tuttavia gli hate speech e il cyberhate nei siti web di notizie sono simili in tutti i Paesi e vengono moderati con tre tipi di regolamento: leggi, etica del web e codici di autoregolamentazione.

Parole chiave: Commenti alle notizie, libertà di parola, hate speech, cyberhate, moderazione.

INTRODUCTION

Along with discussion forums in social media, comment sections on online news sites have become popular. In order to finance the news business, news media have thought of new ways to attract and engage readers and make their visits to news sites longer. Through that, the news media hope to gain advertisers. News comment sections also suit the news media's ideal of being enablers of public debate and democracy. Comment fields would potentially add value to a news site by enhancing public's participation, allowing contact between the media and its users, and helping the news outlet to express public's views (e.g., Deuze, 2003; Deuze et al., 2007; Domingo et al., 2008; Erjavec & Poler Kovačič, 2012).

After the initial enthusiasm, which in many cases left the public free to comment all news material on a news site, the news media have had to adjust their services to the fact that a substantial part of user generated content does not meet the standards to be published. The comment function generates a great deal of extra work for editors, as the comments need to be checked and moderated. News comment fields are further problematic, as they besides more innocent material include hate speech and other aggressive, insulting and stigmatizing content, known as cyberhate (Hughey & Daniels, 2013). This creates another dilemma for the news media. For media sites maintaining news comment fields, the great variety of potential hate speech and cyberhate content necessitates awareness and sensitivity to a plethora of verbal misbehaviours that can be and are offensive to various groups, minorities and individuals in society. At the same time, the media seeks to remain alert to its core value as a defender of freedom of speech and enabler of public debate, also on sensitive issues such as inter-ethnic relations. Media has to balance between providing public an access to free speech, while guaranteeing that such debate is conducted responsibly and ethically.

Earlier research on the issue of comment fields on news sites has discussed the journalistic value and use of news comments (Deuze, 2006; Heinonen, 2011), the commonalities between the practice of hosting public discourse on news sites and on social media platforms (Braun & Gillespie, 2011), the practices and difficulties of moderation of news comments (Trygg, 2012), as well as the contents of news comment fields (e.g., Canter, 2013). In relation to the question of cyberhate, especially the contents of racist news and blog comments have been covered (Cammaerts, 2009; Horsti & Nikunen, 2013) and it has been discussed, whether moderated news comments affect the forms of verbal racism used in discussions (Hughey & Daniels, 2013).

Previous research has mainly been national, comparing various news sites within one country (Hermida & Thurman, 2008), while international comparisons have been rare (Trygg, 2012; Goodman, 2013). Research has often approached user comments from the point of view of journalists, while in fact nowadays typically specialized moderators face the comments and make decisions concerning publishing (see e.g., Trygg, 2012). It has also not been widely studied, how news media organisations exactly recognize hate speech and cyberhate when moderating and how they make the decisions to remove or publish user comments (for an on-going study, see Benesch, 2013). It has also not been discussed in specific, how the news media perceive the controversy between allowing free speech on sensitive societal issues, while also protecting the public from racism, hate speech and cyberhate.

This article attempts to fill in this gap in research and discusses the structure of news media's comment sections as well as their moderation practices and regulations concerning cyberhate and hate speech. The article asks, with what kind of solutions the news media on the one hand enable free public debate in news comment fields in accordance with their aims, and on the other hand restrict it to avoid problematic contents, such as hate speech, in advance. This analysis is done by studying the structure of the comment fields of 18 news comment fields. Secondly, it is asked, what do the moderators of various news comment sites recognise as hate speech, cyberhate or other vice problematic content? How do moderators make the decisions to publish or to remove such contents? In order to analyse this, the moderators of 16 news comment fields were interviewed and the user and moderation guidelines of those comment fields were analysed. Thirdly, it is asked what the possible outcomes of these practices in relation to prevention of hate speech, but also to promotion of free speech and user participation could be, and which values of the news media are reflected. The article considers news sites in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The news media have adjusted to the development of Web 2.0 and created their own services for public debate. At the same time they have come to face the ill-sides of Internet discussions, including hate speech and cyberhate.

Freedom of speech and public debate on news comment sites

Thanks to the Internet, and especially the development of Web 2.0, possibilities for public debate and deliberation have increased exponentially. The new web enables users to spread all kinds of user generated content to unlimited publics. On the surface, freedom of speech is wider than ever (e.g., Sunstein, 2001; Margolis & Moreno-Riaño, 2009).

However, realisation of true freedom of speech on the Internet encounters serious problems, digital divide

to start with (Jørgensen, 2013). In addition, free public deliberation between various people and opinions remains a dream, as typically issue- and audience specific Internet platforms regularly turn into so-called echo-chambers. The Internet and social media on the whole leave people free to determine the content they want to consume, as well as the company they'd like to keep (e.g., Sunstein, 2001; Papacharissi, 2002; Youngs, 2009). People's behaviour on the Internet is strongly connected to their affects, so they seek appropriate platforms with like-minded individuals, serving their personal interests (Tsesis, 2002; Douglas, 2008; Joinson et al., 2008). As a result, people are not likely to encounter opinions different to their own.

Unlike to subject specific discussion forums, comment fields of the news media have not been created to please a very specific group of audience only. Like print newspapers, they ought to serve the public interest at large. Freedom of speech, public participation and democracy are valued as ideals when the news media design and set up their online news comment sections (Deuze, 2003; Deuze et al., 2007; Domingo et al., 2008). By enabling user comments, users are given a chance for free debate and to encounter various views. At the same time, the media gains useful insights into public opinion. In local settings, especially, such discussions can create a bond between the media and the public (Heinonen 2011; Canter 2013). For these reasons, news comment fields are a fora where a variety of people and opinions have a chance to meet, and where actual deliberation potentially could be practiced.

The ideal of the news media as enablers of public deliberation and democracy has its roots in the classical liberal understandings of free speech (esp. John Stuart Mill), as well as in the models of deliberative democracy (e.g., Habermas, 1984). Ideally, free discussion allows for finding the truth (Mill, 1982). It is the news media's role to support the public's opportunities for self-expression and truth-seeking by offering a public sphere for deliberation (e.g., Nieminen & Nordenstreng, 2012).

The liberal ideals of freedom of speech and deliberation however include a normative element. It often has been claimed mistakenly that John Stuart Mill was the inventor or true supporter of the 'free marketplace of ideas', allowing public expressions of all opinions (Nordenstreng, 2013). Instead, freedom of speech, as discussed by Mill and Habermas, applies ideally only to those who are well-informed and civilized enough to deliberate responsibly on public and common issues. It is not to be used by everyone for all possible purposes. Traditionally the news media has controlled the participants of public deliberation by deciding, whose opinion is to be heard in the public debate in the news material, but also in letters-to-editors.

Many have criticised the theoretical ideas of both Mill and Habermas that limit the group of possible participants in public debates (e.g., Young, 2000; Downey & Fenton, 2003; Mouffe, 2005; Fraser, 2007). These ideas simply do not seem applicable in today's Web 2.0 environments where the official and normatively limited public spheres provided by e.g. news media are competing with endless alternative, and normatively less restricted platforms for people's deliberation activities. Not surprisingly, the news media have encountered difficulties, as their comment sections have been overwhelmed with uncivilized and unruly contents. Not all participants are willing to keep themselves to the ideal of expressing only civilized and well-informed comments. News media have found themselves hosting an unruly public (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; da Silva, 2013).

Regrettably, the comment sections of news media have also not remained free of hate speech and other common forms of Internet cyberhate (Hughey & Daniels, 2009). People active on actual hate sites and other fora of social media are keen to make visits to other discussions where their message can be spread to the wider public. In particular, anonymous news comment fields tempt such individuals to leave hateful contributions to debates (Back, 2002; Cooper, 2004; Roversi, 2008; Cammaerts, 2008 & 2009; Daniels, 2009).

Moderation of news comments, hate speech and cyberhate

In order to host the public debate in news comment fields, news media have of late set up a variety of enhanced moderation practices to control discussions. The news media have a legal and ethical obligation to function responsibly and news comment fields fall under that responsibility. Moderation is a grassroots-level solution to control website content. Comments are removed either in advance (pre-moderated), which means that they are not published at all, or afterwards (post-moderated), if they appear potentially illegal or inappropriate after publishing. Content sometimes can be edited or re-written before publishing. It should be noted that moderation is not the same as censorship, which only can be performed by states (Hannula & Neuvonen, 2011).

In the moderation practice, the great variety of potential hate speech and cyberhate content necessitates awareness and sensitivity to a plethora of verbal misbehaviours. At the same time, the media seeks to remain alert to its core value as a defender of free speech and enabler of public debate and democracy. This poses the news media a dilemma: it has to balance between providing public access to free speech, while guaranteeing that such debate is conducted responsibly.

The dilemma that the news media is faced with, also flows from legislation that is not unambiguous in definition of hate speech. Freedom of speech functions as a starting point, and it is guaranteed in the legislations of modern democracies and by international conventions. In Europe, the European Convention of Human Rights (1950) and the related Court of Human Rights (ECtHR)

protect the exercise of these rights. The news media use the same rights, when they publish contents created by journalists or the public. In relation to hate speech ECtHR has in its jurisprudence expressed that besides positive, harmless and insignificant expressions freedom of speech also covers expressions that can be worrying, shocking or insulting, or include provocation (Weber, 2009). Which utterances are covered by freedom of speech, is however not easy to judge.

Generally, there are two alternative ways to consider free speech and its limitations in relation to hate speech. Firstly, freedom of speech is seen as an ultimate freedom that individuals should be able to exercise without restrictions. Restrictions are only justifiable in the rare case where direct harm is caused to others. Some have questioned whether speech is an actual act at all, and whether it has the capacity to cause any true or direct harms. What can be understood as 'direct harm' is a complicated question, and therefore, this 'harm principle' is difficult to enact in practice. However, unlimited free speech and the harm principle have gained support from free speech proponents who argue for as few restrictions as possible. Legislation in the United States follows this line of thought and grants a high value on free speech with minimum restrictions (e.g., Calvert, 1997; Tsesis, 2002; Bleich, 2011; Rønning, 2013).

The other tradition sees speech as an act that can cause various sorts of damages, direct and indirect, not only to its recipients but also to society on the whole. Speech is taken as a powerful tool that can cause long-term harm to minorities by marking them as subordinate or inferior, which can lead to general public unrest and hostility between groups (Calvert, 1997; Tsesis, 2002). Free speech is defined as a fundamental right, which must be protected by law from censorship, but which may not be used to endanger other fundamental rights of other individuals or groups, including their human dignity. Various rights need to be balanced against each other (Kortteinen, 1996). This view also has encountered critique: If certain groups, typically minorities, are to be protected from verbal offences, who is in the position to define which groups count as such minorities and what counts as a penal offence (Molnar, 2012; Rønning, 2013)? Despite the difficulties in practice, most European legislations today recognize the need to protect vulnerable groups from harmful and offensive uses of free speech.

The term 'hate speech' has rarely been defined as such in national legislations. Rather, many nations have criminalized e.g. racist speech and incitement to racial, ethnic or religious hatred; discrimination, provocation and defamation (Bleich, 2011). The definitions of these crimes vary by country, and as a result, hate speech and hate crimes have slightly different meanings (Garland & Chakraborti, 2012). The most specific definition to hate speech has been given by The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers' (1997), articulating it as follows: 'the term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.'

The Internet is a platform not only for hate speech, but also for other hateful expressions. An overarching term that has been used for this kind of content on the web is cyberhate, which has been defined as 'the use of any electronic technology to spread bigoted, discriminatory, terrorist and extremist information' (Edelstein & Wolf, 2013, 3). More specifically, cyberhate includes a broad selection of behaviours and expressions: racism, anti-Semitism, religious bigotry, homophobia, bigotry aimed at the disabled, political hatred, rumour-mongering, misogyny and violent pornography, promotion of terrorism, cyberbullying, harassment and stalking, speech that silences counter-speech such as slurs, insults and epithets and speech that defames an entire group (ibid., 8). Clearly, cyberhate as a term is broader than 'hate speech' defined in criminal laws. The scope of utterances that cause trouble to news comment fields, is thus much wider than hate speech only, and it poses a challenge to the media that moderates discussions.

Besides the actual contents of news comments, profitability is another vital element affecting the moderation practices of the news media. The comment section should be an economically beneficial part of the media product (Hughey & Daniels, 2013). In many cases, profitability has proven difficult, as the maintenance and development of the platforms is expensive and laborious while exact benefits remain vague. Comments should add to the quality, not reduce it. It is a true challenge for the media to produce qualitatively desirable discussions using as few resources as possible. Ultimately, profitability affects discussion structure, moderation resources and implemented practices (see also Trygg, 2012).

Taken together, there are several factors creating a quagmire within which moderation occurs: the media's ambition and ideal to create spaces for public debate, the need to protect free speech but to do it qualitatively well, the responsibility to eliminate hate speech and other misbehaviours, and the necessity of profitability of business. With this complexity in mind, it is relevant to inquire how media have approached these dilemmas.

The key research questions to this article can be put as follows: How do various news media in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK treat the dilemma of allowing public debate, but to avoid hate speech? What kind of news comment field structures have various news media developed in order to on the one hand enhance public discussion, and to avoid inappropriate comments on the other? When moderating, how do moderators decide what constitutes hate speech or cyberhate in need of moderation, as the laws are ambiguous?

Taking into account the complicated field within which the media performs their moderation practices, it is relevant to ask about the limits between hate speech and free speech. What values do the chosen moderation practices in various media reflect? The question also arises whether moderated discussions enable public participation, or whether it limits participants' freedom of speech. What are the possible consequences of moderation of news comments?

METHODS

For this research, we first of all analysed the structure of in total 18 comment fields of news sites in Finland (8), the Netherlands (4), Sweden (3) and the UK (3). The studied news media were Helsingin Sanomat, Iltalehti, Ilkka, Kainuun Sanomat, Uusi Suomi, Yle, Aamulehti and Satakunnan kansa in Finland; De Volkskrant, Algemeen Dagblad, Trouw and De Telegraaf in the Netherlands; Dagens Nyheter, Aftonbladet and Sveriges radio in Sweden; and Guardian, Daily Mail and The Telegraph in Great Britain. For the Finnish material the aim was to include various media houses and types of news outlets in the study. We selected a national, local (4), a tabloid, a public broadcaster and a web-based only news media. We also paid attention to the popularity of the comment fields when making the selection. In the selection for the Netherlands, Sweden and Great Britain we included a quality and a tabloid-like news outlet with the most popular comment fields, and since the Swedish public broadcasting service closely resembles the Finnish one, it was included as well. The selection for the Netherlands covers three different quality newspapers of one publisher, as their moderation is taken care of jointly.

The qualitative analysis of comment field structure was performed to find out, how the comment fields enable public debate, but also restrict problematic contents. Besides written user guidelines, the actual technology or structure of the discussion platform steers the discussions (see Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Goodman, 2013). Therefore, it is relevant to analyse the structure of the comment fields. We paid attention to whether and how a user needed to register for the site in order to comment, what news one could comment on, whether moderation was pre- or post-moderation, whether moderators or journalists participated in discussions, and the location of user guidelines on the site. We also considered the core content of the user guidelines: what was allowed/forbidden in comments, whether the public could report problematic contents, whether references were made to any laws, and who was announced to hold responsibility for the comments.

In addition to analysis of the comment field structure and user guidelines, 16 moderators from the studied news sites were interviewed in 2012. In-depth interviews are a much used method in media research. They are an adequate method for the study of organisations and practices (Jankowski & Wester, 1991), and in this case particularly the news organisations' moderation practices. We interviewed moderators or heads of moderation teams of all the selected news media that were willing to give us an interview, one person per each media[1]. In Great Britain, the news media did not want to provide interviews, except for the Guardian. In Sweden, we also tried to interview the moderation company moderating the most news sites, but they refused interview. In the Netherlands instead, we were besides moderators at news media, allowed to interview the moderation company that in practice moderates the most news sites. The interviews are specified in the list of sources.

During the semi-structured in-depth interviews, questions were asked about the structure of the news comment sections and the interactive services for the public; the moderation practices of the news comments and the rules of moderation; and views of the moderators on hate speech, freedom of speech and its restrictions. Also, the internal moderation guidelines were studied, if they were provided to us upon request. In total, some 23 hours of interview material in Finnish, Swedish and English was recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were analysed qualitatively by categorising the material into various classes and subclasses according to spoken themes and issues, which then were analysed further theoretically. A qualitative method was followed in order to explore moderation practices in different countries and news media, and to understand the variety of practices, but not to produce quantitative data about them.

RESULTS

News comment fields have been set up in the hope that they would create a free debate with an added value to a news site. At start, much or all of the news material was open for commenting, but that lead into too much moderation work. Today, the news media use two strategies in order to avoid problematic contents to be published in their comment fields. First, the structure and the technology of the comment field itself is designed to prevent problems. Secondly, the comments are post- or premoderated according the rules of moderation.

Structure of news comment fields: Allowing debate, preventing hate speech and cyberhate

News media have developed the structure and technology of the comment fields to minimise the need for moderation, and enabling adequate control of the dis-

1 Except for Helsingin Sanomat and Kainuun Sanomat, where they preferred to have two interviewees due to recent changes in their moderation team. In Britain, the Guardian gave two separate interviews.

Table 1: News comment field structures in different countries:

News comment field structures	What can people comment on?	Registration required/ not	Moderation (pre/post, performed by)	Moderators participate in discussions/not
Finland	All news on the site	Yes, with user name (or full name); sometimes no registration	Pre-moderation mostly, moderators in the editorial office	Mostly not, sometimes moderator-journalists or journalists participate
The UK	All news on the site	Yes, with user name (or full name, e.g. Facebook (FB) account); sometimes no registration	Post-moderation, moderators in the editorial office	Sometimes; journalists can also participate
The Netherlands	Selected discussion articles and news	Yes, with user name (or full name, e.g. FB account)	Pre-moderation, moderators from an external company	No; journalists can participate sometimes
Sweden	Selected discussion articles, live chats	Yes, with user name (or full name, e.g. FB account)	Post-moderation, moderators from an external company	No; Live chats and special discussions are organised by journalists

cussions with the resources available (see also Goodman, 2013). The chosen practices share commonalities within the countries, but since they are connected to the legal and media ethical framework in each country, variations exist. The table above summarises the general structure of the comment fields in each studied country.

The commenting practices on Finnish news websites are quite liberal. The studied news sites allow all or almost all news to be commented on. To comment, users need to register with a user name, but in tabloid Iltalehti, there are still news discussions in which registration is not needed. The comments are pre-moderated for all the studied news sites, except for Iltalehti and online news media Uusi Suomi, which post-moderate due to volume- and resource-related reasons (interviews, 10/2012).

The ethical code for Finnish journalists (Julkisen sanan neuvosto, 2014) recommends that news media moderate in advance, but the treatment of the law and the ethical code is the same, regardless of whether one pre- or post-moderates. In both cases, the news media can be held responsible for illegal content in news comments, once they have become aware of such content. According to the ethical code, media also has an active responsibility to avoid such content from being published. For all interviewed cases, the moderators work in-house, and they are trained within the news media.

The Finnish practices have much in common with UK practices, where all or most news on the news sites can be commented on. There is variation in terms of whether people need to register or not; most sites require registration with user names. The British comment sections are mainly post-moderated for legal responsibility reasons; often, according to the interviews (Guardian, 1/2013), moderation is performed retroactively as a reaction to user reports of illegal content. An in-house moderating team is used at the Guardian. The team has active contact with both the editorial office as well as the legal department when making decisions concerning moderation. The Guardian trusts in active user engagement and peer-to-peer control, as well as active journalist and expert participation in the discussions when possible. For these reasons, the size of the moderator community team can be kept small despite the large commenting volume.

The practices in the Netherlands differ from those in Finland and in the UK. Instead of opening all news for comments, the Dutch news sites select a small portion of news items that can be commented on daily. The selection, its size and diversity varies per medium, even within one media house (e.g. within the media house De Persgroep, De Volksrant, Algemeen Dagblad and Trouw all follow different policies). It is clear that some news sites allow more discussion than others. Users can comment on news once they have registered.

The moderation of the news sites in the Netherlands is performed by a specified moderation company selling its services to news organisations. Interestingly, the moderation company offers its services to several of the biggest media companies and news sites, which means that news comments are moderated in a standardized way. The moderators are trained by the company itself, and according to their interview (11/2012), the training concentrates on recognition of hate speech and other possibly problematic content as well as speed and ac-

curacy in moderation. Dutch news sites prefer to pre-moderate.

In Sweden, news comments were initially very open for public discussion, but the 2010 parliamentary elections brought a new extreme right-wing political party into the public debate. This caused a significant increase in the number of racist and sexist news comments, attacking both the Swedish immigrant population as well as the basic ideas of racial and gender equality held dear in Swedish society (interviews with Dagens Nyheter 10/2012 and Aftonbladet 1/2013). The news media debated the problematic news comments extensively, and, as a result, many of them decided to allow less discussion on their websites.

Today, the interviewed print media (Dagens Nyheter, Aftonbladet) only open a small selection of news for commenting on a daily basis. If the media wants 'serious' discussions with the publics, live chats hosted by journalists are organised, and preferably, journalists participate in them themselves. The news media prefers to use various social media applications to allow people to share the news; actual comment fields at the end of a news piece have become a rarity. In 2012, Sveriges Radio still let each channel and programme decide on their commenting practices (interview 05/2012); now in 2014, it seems to have followed other news media, mainly allowing sharing through Facebook, Twitter and other services but no comments.

At the Swedish news sites, moderation is taken care of retroactively due to Swedish legislation making the publisher's responsibility greater for advance moderation. When post-moderating, the media are only responsible for removing illegal contents once they are noticed. Similar to the situation in the Netherlands, moderation of the largest news sites is performed by a specialised company that sells their service to news media. These moderators mostly remove illegal content. As was told in an interview (Dagens Nyheter 10/2012), moderators receive standard training, focused especially on media law and ethics, organised by the Swedish Media Institution (Fojo).

It is with and within these structures that various news sites in the studied countries are trying to prevent hate speech and cyberhate from being published. In this way, the media is making decisions concerning people's possibilities to express themselves freely in the news comments. All the solutions chosen enable prevention of hate speech and cyberhate, but some solutions allow the exercise of free speech more extensively than others. The Finnish and British cases seem quite liberal, the post-moderated British media being the most permissive for free debate. The Swedish and Dutch cases, with their selected news discussions, are more restrictive. The Dutch news sites allow more discussion than the Swedish ones, but because they are pre-moderated, the Dutch discussions are possibly the most restricted. The structure of the news comment fields, however, is only the first layer of practices implemented by the media in the overall struggle against cyberhate. In the end, hate speech and other problematic contents are removed from the discussions according to the actual moderation regulations and guidelines, which vary by media and country.

Moderation of hate speech and cyberhate: Three types of moderation regulation

Hate speech, including ethnic and racial hatred, was familiar to the interviewed moderators in all countries. In addition, moderators encountered hatred towards women, political hatred and hatred directed to individuals, either a public person or a regular user of a comment field. Moderators thus face all forms of cyberhate discussed above (Edelstein & Wolf, 2013). The regulations that direct moderation also share similarities in all countries studied.

In the moderation practice, there are three types of regulations used by media when making decisions concerning the news comments. First of all, like the guidelines given to users by the news sites often already indicate, the comments need to comply with local laws. In some guidelines, like those of the Dutch De Telegraaf, direct links are provided to the laws concerning incitement to hatred towards various minorities[2]. In most cases, the applicable laws are not specified to users.

The laws, however, do form the basis for moderation of the news comments, and the moderators are very familiar with them: hate speech, incitement and threats are commonly forbidden in news comments. In addition to hate speech targeted at ethnic and racial minorities, some countries' laws forbid insults and threats to groups or people representing a certain sex, sexual minorities, the disabled, religious groups or conviction status. Defamation, breaches of privacy, illegal links, pornography and other such contents are illegal, and therefore, they are not tolerated in news comments.

What is finally taken as actual hate speech depends on the local laws. In Finland, for example, the incitement to hatred law was altered in summer 2011, and it now also includes incitement spread through the Internet. The owner of the website can be held responsible for the content (Rikoslaki, 11:10, 511/2011). In practice, it is forbidden to 'spread knowledge, opinion or other messages, in which violence or discrimination of groups is deemed agreeable or desirable, or in which people are compared with animals, parasites etc., or in which sweeping statements are made of people being criminals, or inferior to others etc.' (Valtakunnansyyttäjänvirasto, Report 17/34/11, 11). 'Following this rule, the Finnish Iltalehti has post-moderated comments from their news

2 http://www.telegraaf.nl/reacties/huisregels/.

discussions, for example from a discussion concerning Finland-based youngsters of Somalian origin, who had committed a rape crime, the comment: 'I hope from the bottom of my heart that someone will execute those apes' (Anonymous comment, IL.fi 19.4.2012, removed from discussion).

These types of utterances were recalled in the interviews with moderators in all countries. They are considered illegal hate speech that will definitely be removed from the news comments. Yet, as an interview with a Dutch moderator illustrates, it is not always easy to decide where to draw the line between acceptable commentary and illegal hate speech, especially in news comments that relate to ongoing political debate:

> *Well, there is this right-wing party in Holland, around Geert Wilders, and, he has some very strong opinions about certain aspects in society. Some of the articles around Mister Wilders we open for comments, these are the articles that give the moderators the most trouble. So, what if what Wilders is saying on the edge of what is legal, how should we treat what the commenters are saying about the same case. […] These are cases that are very difficult, if, always the case is on the edge of what is legal and is not, or what is appropriate or what is not, are the difficult ones. (De Telegraaf, 11/2012)*

Hate speech remains problematic to moderators; at the same time for reasons of profitability, they are constrained by efficiency not to spend too much time deciding. The discussion needs to be kept going, so a moderator cannot take too long on one comment. Therefore, when seeing possibly illegal comments, moderators are more likely to remove them than to publish them (interview with Helsingin Sanomat, 05/2012). Moderators cannot know for certain whether a comment really is illegal or not, as final judgement can only be given by legal officers. However, they can make educated estimations.

Ethical codes for journalism represent the second type of regulations that steer moderation. These codes were especially mentioned in Finland and Sweden; in Sweden, they are a part of the training for moderators. The ethical codes state for example that the human dignity of a person, the under aged, and the offenders and victims of crimes need specific protection (Julkisen sanan neuvosto, 2014). For these reasons, in the aforementioned case, the Finnish Iltalehti was especially careful to remove comments concerning the youngsters of Somalian origin, who had been convicted of a rape crime with an under-aged victim (interview with Iltalehti, 10/2012). More generally, the moderators strongly believe that news media have to act responsibly in society by not allowing any cyberhate on their sites; thus, they remove content to protect vulnerable groups.

Finally the third type of regulation guiding moderation are the self-regulatory house rules. These rules are often even stricter than the laws or media ethical codes in order to avoid any possible problems. Therefore, various types of insulting, swearing, stigmatizing, assaulting, bullying, harassing, racist, sexist and indecent comments are generally prohibited. These house rules comply with the guidelines given to users; in this way, it is easier for moderators to explain why a certain comment was not allowed upon request. A British moderator explains this practice:

> *Now I'm not saying they're all hate speech because hate speech has got a legal definition, but they're kind of in that area. You know, they're aggressive, they're bullying, they're rude, they break our comment rules, they'll have to come off. (Guardian, 1/2013)*

According to the interviewed moderators, in the end, the editorial policy, quality standards and media brand play a significant role in what is tolerated in the comments and what is not, as the discussions form an inherent part of the news product. These standards can vary for different news media brands even within a single media company: One news site allows more commenting and more content than another, perhaps even allowing swearing, while another brand of the same media company would not tolerate it. The interviewed moderation company in the Netherlands regularly checks with various news organisations that its moderation is in line with the desired brand:

> *Because, house rules, should be and most of the times are, very similar to the brand values of a company. So, you see that house rules of De Telegraaf are different from the house rule of Trouw. It would be very strange if it wasn't. (Novia Facts, 11/2012)*

Media companies strive to support open discussions and free speech, but they also stress the importance of their house values and standards. These, next to financial and efficiency arguments, are ultimately the most important frameworks when designing and moderating the comment fields. Furthermore, moderators argue strongly for the legal responsibilities of the publisher and the publisher's right to decide what it publishes. It is commonly stated that since large-scale freedom of speech is guaranteed on the Internet, there is no need for news media to support people's unlimited freedom of speech, and in so doing, stimulate hate speech at their own expense. This viewpoint is summarised by the Swedish Dagens Nyheter:

> *But for our part it is also a question of our brand value that certain things simply cannot be found*

on our site. But definitely media also have responsibility in so far that we can take care that discussions and debates are of a good quality and are not racist or sexist or… We can never stop the discussions everywhere on the internet. But on the contrary, we can withdraw from helping to normalize that kind of speech through not allowing it on our site. (Dagens Nyheter, 10/2012)

The news media also stresses that it is not their duty to negotiate their rights as publishers with the users, who sometimes feel their comments were unfairly removed. As long as they are the owners of the product and invest in it, they only need to support the free speech rights of those who know how to behave, not the unruly one's rights.

The newspaper uses that freedom of speech. And that's also an inalienable right. As long as people write in Helsingin Sanomat and we make those publishing decisions, it is pretty straightforward and unambiguous. (Helsingin Sanomat, 10/2012)

I mean, we are investing in our news product, we are investing in our website, and it is a website that we try to exploit and we try to maintain. Basically it's our house, our rules. On the other hand, being a news organization, you also have some duties to the public. […] If you're free, you also have the responsibility to handle that freedom. So, there's free speech on Telegraaf.nl, but we have rules. (De Telegraaf, 11/2012)

Altogether, these statements indicate that comments that would possibly be acceptable according to the laws restricting hate speech and other forms of cyberhate, are often moderated and removed due to media's own guidelines, which complement official regulations. These self-regulatory guidelines are often necessary and beyond that they are preferred by moderators as solutions to prevent hate speech and cyberhate since laws do not and cannot settle all problems. The rights of the publisher to limit discussions on their news sites cannot be withdrawn from media either.

However, one might question whether discussion is being restricted too much. This question becomes pronounced when considering that comments sometimes are pre-moderated according to these self-regulatory guidelines, and particular news items are selected in advance for commenting based on the brand and quality goals of the news outlet. Such comment fields no longer enable free debate or deliberation in the sense of 'free speech' – instead, they normatively exclude the kind of discussants and content that could damage the news site's quality brand. These news discussions come close to the restricted public spheres of the civilized and responsible citizens that Habermas and Mill discuss, instead of being public spheres open for all debates and participants.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This article has explored how various news media in Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK moderate cyberhate and hate speech. The study shows that moderation is not the only solution to prevent hate speech and cyberhate, but generally, the whole structure of the comment fields has been designed in a way that efficiently prevents problematic content. The number of available discussions and the practice of pre- or post-moderation dictate, how freely people can participate and comment. Finnish and British sites allow the most discussion, while Swedish and Dutch news sites prefer selected discussions, moderated by professional moderation companies.

The studied news media thus balance between preserving selected high quality discussions and attracting large amounts of users and comments. All selected solutions in a way try to guarantee advertisers' interest and revenues, but some are fairly weak in supporting free public debate. Common to all solutions is that the media is not willing to relinquish its traditional role as the gatekeeper of public debate, but wants to maintain in active control. Consequently, the public does not have an access to genuinely open public news debates online (see also Hermida &Thurman, 2007; Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Trygg, 2012).

This also indicates that media is willing to host a public discussion, but only according to certain normative rules. Like theoretical discussions have suggested earlier, there is a normative problem of selected participants and opinions to the liberal ideal of public debate, and even in the era of Web 2.0, the news media does not seem able to avoid the replication of the problem. This is regretful, considering that news comments have the potential of being a meeting point for a variety of people and opinions, a rarity on today's Internet.

In all countries, the actual practice of moderation is regulated by legislation on hate speech and related issues. Media ethical codes also guide moderation. Self-regulatory house rules complement these two practices and ultimately decide which comments are published. Self-regulation is preferred as a solution to cyberhate, since laws cannot settle all problems. Through self-regulation, many variants of cyberhate are removed from the discussions. Allowable content is defined by house rules, and they must conform to the brand and quality values of a news media outlet.

The studied news media are very aware of their role in preventing hate speech and cyberhate from being published; they see such practice as part of media's public responsibility. In this way, media is protecting vulnerable groups in society from being publicly offended. Media is following the general line of thought in Europe that recognises hate speech as an act of offense that can cause individuals and society serious harms (Calvert, 1997; Tsesis, 2002). For these reasons, moderation is justified.

However, if and when the media in addition moderates contents based on their quality guidelines, they enter into a problematic field. Moderation practices should be transparent and based only on laws and regulations that do not appear arbitrary (Benesch, 2013). This study has shown that there is a grey area in moderation and certain contents are removed just to be on the safe side. More research is still needed to observe the actual practice of moderation to find out, how considered the decisions to moderate are.

The news media are less keen to protect freedom of speech as an ultimate right in the comment fields. Media's own rights and the responsibilities as a publisher weight heavier than users' rights on free speech, since as it is argued, these can be practiced elsewhere on the Internet (see also Goodman, 2013). When defending such a view, the news media give away their initial ideal of news comment fields as fora for free expression of opinions. The ideals of free expression are in the end given less weight than the losses that would follow, if advertisers and users would abandon the media due to an inadequate quality of discussions (Hermida & Thurman, 2007; Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Trygg, 2012).

Allowing mainly qualitatively desirable discussions means that all opinions cannot be expressed freely in sites that traditionally form a part of democracy, namely the news outlets. Like previous research has demonstrated, this can on the one hand lead into discussions that are too clean on the outside and do not show what the actual societal concerns are. It can also lead into hidden racism, when new neat ways to express old ideals are developed (Hughey & Daniels, 2013). There is a risk that if certain opinions are not allowed in public debate, they will be expressed in more harmful ways elsewhere. Society needs public debate, also on sensitive issues, and the news media should still be able to provide a forum, where opinions can be expressed openly and safe by all.

MEJE SOVRAŽNEGA GOVORA IN SVOBODE GOVORA NA MODERIRANIH SPLETNIH STRANEH NA FINSKEM, ŠVEDSKEM, NIZOZEMSKEM IN V VELIKI BRITANIJI

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POVZETEK

Članek primerjalno analizira strukturo in moderiranje komentarjev pod spletnimi novinarskimi prispevki na Finskem, Švedskem, Nizozemskem in v Veliki Britaniji. Osredotoča se na dilemo med svobodo govora in moderiranjem sovražnega govora in spletnega sovraštva. Študija temelji na intervjujih s 16 moderatorji in tekstovni analizi strukture in smernic moderacijskih praks 18 novičarskih spletnih strani. Novičarski mediji aktivno preprečujejo objavo sovražnega govora in spletnega sovraštva na različne načine glede na državo. Sovražni govor in spletno sovraštvo v komentarjih pod spletnimi novinarskimi prispevki sta podobna v vseh analiziranih državah. Moderacijska praksa temelji na treh vrstah pravil: zakoni, medijska etika in samoregulacijske smernice.

Ključne besed: komentarji pod spletnimi novinarskimi prispevki, svoboda govora, sovražni govor, spletno sovraštvo, moderacija.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING "*ČEFURKE*"

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with migratory processes from the area of the former Yugoslavian republics towards Slovenia, focusing primarily on women migratory population. By combining theoretical knowledge with empirical findings the article tries to shed light on the poorly researched immigration processes in Slovenia, despite the fact that immigration rate has exceeded emigration rate already since the 1960s. Its main perspective proceeds from personal narrations which transgress the usual monochromic conclusions and expose the need to study women's migration in a contextualized perspective. The main methodology used rely on the oral history method of collecting life stories; a free, conversational method of gathering information about migratory experiences, which also reveals new perspectives, new research questions.

Key words: women, immigrants, Slovenia, former Yugoslavia, life stories

UN CONTRIBUTO ALLA RIFLESSIONE DI *"ČEFURKE"*

Il presente articolo tratta i processi di migrazione dalle repubbliche dell'ex Jugoslavia in Slovenia e in primo luogo si concentra sulle migrazioni della popolazione femminile. Combinando il sapere teorico e le constatazioni empiriche, l'articolo cerca di chiarire i processi di immigrazione in Slovenia non abbastanza ricercati, anche se le percentuali della popolazione immigrata superano le percentuali delle emigrazioni già dal lontano 1960. La prospettiva principale nasce dalle storie personali che vanno oltre le classiche conclusioni monocroniche e sottolinea il bisogno di una ricerca contestualizzata delle migrazioni femminili. L'approccio metodologico, scelto dalle autrici, si basa sulla raccolta di storie di vita secondo il metodo della storia orale, sul metodo della conversazione aperta che raccoglie informazioni riguardanti esperienze migratorie e al contempo rivela nuove prospettive, ma apre anche nuovi punti di domanda.

Parole chiave: donne, immigranti, Slovenia, ex Jugoslavia, storie di vita

PROLOGUE[1]

"So I told my family I was leaving. I'm going to Ljubljana... they thought I was joking. Then Mirko came and we went to see my mother. Nobody even knew about him and suddenly he was there to take me to Ljubljana. I wrote him a letter and told him he should write a letter to my parents, to console them a little bit. So I told him what to write, he just copied it with his handwriting. He promised them he would take good care of me and that he would find me a job. You know, to comfort them a bit because it was a big shock for them... the news about me leaving came out of the blue. They didn't even know where Ljubljana was."

The above quote of Vladanka, a migrant woman from Serbia, depicts only one of the ever-unique circumstances in which departure from home takes place. In contrast to the common assumption, her emigration wasn't stimulated by economic motives, as she had already had a steady job, a place to live and was financially self-sufficient. Her decision to emigrate was sudden and encouraged by an invitation of her future husband Mirko to start a new life in Slovenia. The quotation also indicates the strategy of announcement of the decision to leave home, in which Vladanka played a major, yet hidden role. In many ways, such a role resembles undisclosed positioning of women migrants.

The following article sheds light on the migration of women in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia. Regarding the time frame, this migration took place within the federal state of Yugoslavia until 1991, and from then on between former Yugoslav republics, which after the disintegration of Yugoslavia formed sovereign states. Migrations in the Yugoslav framework took place in multiple directions, however in this article we focus particularly on the women immigrants from other parts of Yugoslavia to Slovenia. In many aspects these migration flows from South to North of Yugoslavia resemble the 'Gastarbeiter' (guest worker) system, where non-qualified or semi-qualified workers from the European and wider periphery (Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia) started working in growing industrial concerns across Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Dennmark and Skandinavian states on the basis of bilateral state contracts (Castles, Miller, 2003; Shonick, 2009). Guest workers were believed to be working there temporary, but gradually, particularly with the birth and acculturation of their offspring, their permanent stay was significantly consolidated.

Since Slovenia was economically one of the most developed republics of Yugoslavia, its growing industry and greater work opportunities since the 1960s surely provided an intriguing imagery among people who lived in poorer living conditions within the once common state. There was a growing influx of workers from Southern republics to Slovenia reaching its peak in the 1970s. However, despite the undeniable importance of economic factors in understanding people's mobility, preoccupation with the economy, states and markets often obscure cultural, social and psychological elements such as interpersonal relations and personal characteristics (Boyd, 1989; Eitinger, 1981) and consequently migratory processes appear to be monochrome. Only with the broadening of the causal spectrum, by taking into account personal contexts, it could be elucidated more convincingly why not all but only a limited number of certain community takes advantage of leaving home. Studies on the phenomenon of guest workers overlooked its women segment largely by highlighting economic reasons (Shonick, 2009); similar conclusion could be drawn for Yugoslav women immigrants in Slovenia, who were until recently only scarcely studied.

Our main intention is to rise above the generally spread stereotypes regarding women migrants, originating from such restricted knowledge, existing especially among average people and media representations. Despite the fact that in international scientific discourse migration is not a male story any more, as it was considered decades ago, gender aspect of migration in the researches carried on in Slovenia seems to be (with few exceptions until recently) more or less overlooked. Namely, the usual representation of immigrants in Slovenia depicts poorly educated, unqualified or semi-qualified male workers in the building industry, who come from the rural, underdeveloped parts of the former Yugoslavia. They are believed to live in poor living conditions and to be "uncultured" (and not of a different culture). As it was found in many reports on this issue, they are also pictured as uninvited, even potentially dangerous intruders (Kuzmanić, 1999; Komac, 2007;

1 The term čefur is a vulgar neologism which started being popularized by the urban youth scene in the late 1980s, early 1990s Central Slovenia. Depending on a context, čefur may label immigrants from the Southern republics of the former common state in general or it can mark a member of the 'čefur mileu (noisy, recognizable and supposedly problematic youth with immigrant background). Some of them conform to this label, but not all immigrants from the former Yugoslavia are referred as 'čefur; more often they are associated with the terms *bosanci* (Bosnians), *jugoviči* (Southerners) švedi (Swedes), etc. From cultural, interpersonal aspects , the term čefur resembles the nowadays controversial meaning of the term 'nigger', depending on who uses it; usually, the term čefur signifies people of the ex-Yugoslavian provenience as ethnically disadvantaged and inferior, yet it also means 'a brother' when spoken out by čefur himself (for comparison see the lyrics of N.W.A. rap group). However, the term cannot be defined concisely and definitely for its meaning is constantly gaining new features. *Čefurka* is a feminine form of the term 'čefur. We have chosen this colloquial term in order to illustrate the power of oral sources we use predominantly. It also depicts rather marginalized, sometimes also pejorative attributes that have been ascribed to migrants, especially to female migrants.

Komac, Medvešek, Roter, 2007; Medica, Lukić, 2010).

For a long time women were absent, not recorded in the classic migration studies (Cukut Kirilić, 2009: 35–43). Nevertheless papers and researches dealing with the topic of women migration appeared in Europe as early as in the 1980s (Morokvašić, 1984) along with general broadening of women's issues within the fields of humanities and social science (see also Kofman et al., 2000). Up until then, women were supposed to have been passive, depending and invisible agents in the mobile layers of society, who – if at all – only exceptionally took the initiative for migratory decisions. According to these beliefs, they stayed behind when their men went abroad and only later joined them, almost exclusively for the purpose of uniting the family and mostly remained secluded in the private sphere as mothers and housekeepers. They also shared similar stereotypical images that were ascribed to male immigrants, as being poor, uneducated, unambitious, "uncultured" etc. However, the empirical findings we collected and presented in the last chapters of this article, reveal a rather more diverse picture.

Many of such stereotypical standpoints emanate from historical accounts on migrations in the past centuries, where the women segment of migrating population – with the exception of the 20th Century – is barely noticeable. Women were often merely a subject left to historians' imagination, despite the fact that they were statistically always present in different forms of mobility. The main reason of women's invisibility lies in the predominantly gender-blind nature of traditional historical interest and historiographical preoccupation with political events and 'important' layers of society, exposing renowned political leaders, priests, aristocrats, combatants, literates etc. The established, traditionally patriarchal and culturally conditioned social norms limited women mostly to various forms of work within the private sphere. But even such a perception requires a closer look at the family context, where women nonetheless left an important imprint of their original culture: the transfer of original cultural values and behavioural patterns, language, religion, culinary practices and traditions to their children. All these transitions, routes of culture and intercultural relations are major subjects within migration studies and even a migrant woman, emerging from traditional patriarchal norms plays an important role in such perspectives.

Generally, public and mass media in Slovenia has been until recently predominantly dealing with male migrants, ignoring the topics related to women migrants. Only recently specific issue on female migrants coming mostly from the Eastern Europe are covered and dealing with the problems of prostitution, dancers in the night clubs and trafficking as well as researches on female migration connected to the labour market. The presence of female migrants can also be detected through the activities of migrants' cultural societies in some urban centres in Slovenia. Despite the fact that presence of woman migrants in Slovenia has been noticed, they have mainly been considered insignificant and unimportant. This is mostly a consequence of the public attitude to women's issues as such, but also of the fact that often women migrants themselves, who – whether they engage in the field of 'invisible' domestic service or in the public sector – avoid public attention. Even the accounts of the victims of discriminatory practices have not drawn as much media and public attention as, for example, those of their male countrymen, even though the discrimination they experienced may have been multiple and intersectional (for more see Hrženjak, Jalušič, 2011; Kuhar, 2009).

We believe that the actual women migrant's heterogeneity has been reduced to certain homogeneous stereotypes. Correspondingly, the understanding of their migratory decision was often simplified, and equated better economic opportunities to multilayered and dynamic motives for their self-actualisation. The majority was reckoned not only as dependent and passive, but also lacking any cosmopolitanism and "sophisticated ideas". Also poor language skills were frequently ascribed to them, and their ethnic, professional, or other ways of self-identification was seen unified and consolidated. Viewed from afar they were often unambiguously characterized as simple-minded "bosanke", "južnjakinje", or recently as "čefurke" who occupied rather low-paid jobs, mostly as cleaners, and who master in making cheese-pie, sarma or pasulj, drink lots of coffee and listen to "Southern" music. Such simplifications will be refused and put into contextualized personal perspective. We tend to show that women's migratory experiences presented in personal contexts (mostly through their perceptions of the reasons to migrate and questions of identity and identifications) may reveal an active and autonomous approach towards new life experiences and better living conditions.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

As in many other research areas, traditional migration theory is largely gender-blind, but on the other hand deeply gendered, as men are considered the key players in migratory processes (Anthias, Cederberg, 2010, 20). For being treated as accompanying dependants, women were only rarely given attention in theoretical accounts of migration (for example see Boyd, 1989; Chant, Radcliffe, 1992 in Carling, 2005). Even when women were recognised as active migrants their experiences were often neglected, despite the fact that women's migratory experience might substantially differ from men's. One of the common conclusions of these studies was also that the one who decides to migrate is in most cases a man, *pater familias* and the breadwinner, while a woman was treated only as the one who follows and/or migrates for

the reason of family reunification. But researches in the field of migration have gradually become aware of the gender dimension of migration (especially in the studies influenced by feminist theory); as a result, discussions about the feminization of migration have been recognized as a tendency at the global level (Castles, Miller, 2003, 67).

The emphasis of the first studies dealing with women migrants was to make migrant women visible (Morokvašić, 1984). Decades of research, a substantial collection of books, special issues of the journals, papers at conferences, many collections of evidence and documentation in this field brought to the surface plenty of evidence that women not only constitute significant proportion of many migration flows, but are often active migrants themselves. Many researchers have also shown that women had different experiences of migration from men (Pedraza, 1991; Morokvašić et al., 2008). In the last decades the growing number of migrant women has been studied in the light of family and refugee migration (with far larger share of women than men), which might be quantitatively comparable to labour migration. But on the other side, there is also an increasing number of women migrating independently for work or educational purposes (Carling, 2005; Metz-Göckel et al., 2008). The term *new migration* is connected to the diversity and shifts in motivations for migration, where particularly educated women take part in the 'solo migration projects' (Anthias, Cederberg, 2010, 22). Feminist scholars call attention to the more complex understanding of migration including multiple gender dimension and importance of the ways in which migrants make choices to move (ibid., 24).

When setting the theoretical frame, we came across the scarcity of the studies concerning women migration in the Balkan area, especially those who deal with the subject of immigration to Slovenia. Only recently the research interest in this field has grown, notably in the works of Razpotnik (2004), Kalčić (2007), Cukut Krilić (2009) and Pajnik, Bajt (2012). Therefore, we also relied on feminist surveys, which pointed out the distinguishable features of women migration elsewhere (Gültekin et al., 2006; Kofman, 2003; Morokvašić, 2006; Women Immigrants: Stewards of the 21st Century Family[2]). Moreover, in the referential literature, there have been ever growing discussions of the feminisation of migration and of the need to emphasize the gender dimension in migration processes (European Women's Lobby, 1995; Kofman et al., 2000; Piper, 2005; Morokvašić, 2010).

In order to go beyond the generally accepted views on women migrants and to analyse the peculiar characteristics of the ex-Yugoslav and Slovenian area, we decided to research the terrain from below by collecting life stories of women migrants. Such a biographical method according to our conviction optimally enables the contextual and intersectional insights in migration processes, which highlight social, economic and historical facts at a certain moment, while it also provides very personal and intimate circumstances (Milharčič Hladnik, Mlekuž, 2009). Furthermore, it also brings out the everyday life perspective, which sheds light also on traditionally invisible social groups (such as women migrants) and pays special attention to the actual variety of their behaviour, norms and thinking patterns that substantially add to the comprehension and evaluation of migration experiences.

In choosing the life story or a biographical method which has regularly been used in gender studies and in other fields of sociological research (Apitzsch, Siouti, 2007), we relied on the rich experience of renowned oral historians (Portelli, 1997; Thompson, 2000; Thomson, 1999; Passerini, 2008; Perks, Thompson, 2005; Ramšak, 2004) as well as on extensive ethnographic and gender studies (Reinharz, Davidman, 1992; Oakley, 2000; Savić, 2001; Rosenthal, 2004; Savić et al., 2008). According to the findings of the above mentioned researchers who deal with the narratives, we were not aiming at samples, but trying to get interesting and telling perspectives. In this regard we consider the story more important than the sample. Consequently we were searching for contextualized life stories, for people who would freely speak out themselves.

We cannot ignore the fact that life stories of these immigrant women are 'caught in the moment' and would be different on another occasion. We are also aware that their stories are not permanent truths. Temporal and spatial contexts have important consequences for their narratives and for the analysis and interpretation of their accounts. These life stories offer only partial answers and are subjective self-representations of the narrators, but they can offer us an important broader social context (Roberts, 2002). Much like the reality of everyday life is socially constructed and re-constructed, so does a biographical story have to be understood as a social construction in which one can detect an interdependent intertwinement of the macro, mezzo and micro levels of life (Hoerder, 1997).[3] An individual evaluates and contextualizes broader social contexts (general political, economic, cultural and other moments) and private social reality (familiar and various social networks) through a subjective range of experiences, which are constantly redefining. For a better understanding of a context concerning personal aspects, a high level of

2 http://media.namx.org/images/communications/immwomenexecsummary.pdf
3 The three levels address different scopes on which an individual has different degrees of influence and determination. Micro level addresses one's personal circle, intimacy, family and home, mezzo level corresponds broader interpersonal relationships, local community, co-workers and acquaintances, while macro level signifies national and global structures in the fields of economy, politics, culture etc.

methodological sensibility – how the individuals form their biographic stories, what they emphasise or withhold and to what extent various social and cultural contexts influence the narration – is needed. Nonetheless, these stories all carry the message of the importance of social contacts and connections between different cultures, which enrich our ever-changing society and generate improvements.

The analysis of a biographical account helps us understand how these individuals place themselves in their social contexts and how they understand them (Gültekin et al., 2006). By using it, we can research the structures of individual and social actions in order to discover possible origins of persistence and change. General questions concerning migration were all answered with individual emphases and conclusions, which reveal diverse relevancies in their stories. The consideration of these narrative accents also enables the setting of new research perspectives. Here, we have to point out these women's common starting point that there was nothing particularly remarkable in their stories. Only after browsing through their memories, they found out that their life stories include many telling and interesting details, realizations, conclusions. The conviction about the insignificance of their life-experiences could denote the contours of their damaged self-image, not used of public exposure.

The patterned set of interviewees was formed within rather unconstrained categories, since the main interest was to qualitatively and not quantitatively contextualize their immigration experience. We took advantage of talking to a broader range of migrant women, who were either immigrants themselves or were descendants of immigrants.

The diversity and variety of their fates or life trajectories is mirrored in their stories (Antić Gaber 2011). Individual women have been chosen on the basis of snow ball method. We started to collect the possible informants using recommendations to find immigrant women for whom we were positive that they would trust them and openly tell their stories. In order to deconstruct the prevalent image of immigrant women from the former Yugoslavia, the aim was to collect the stories of women from urban and rural environments, from different religious, national, class, educational, professional, etc. background, with different marital status and from different age groups. We visited the interviewee once or more times depending on the need for additional clarifications. Interviews lasted from two to six and more hours and were carried out in the environment chosen by the interviewees themselves, in the places where they felt comfortable to talk about sensitive issues (mostly at their homes). Their narratives were recorded (some of them also video recorded), transcribed and served as a main source for the book of written stories, which were in great part made of their quotations. At the very beginning each woman signed a consent in which she agreed to let her story be published under her real name. After the story had been written, each interviewee read it through, commented and approved it.

In total we collected twenty life stories of women migrant, six coming from Bosnia, six from Serbia, two from Macedonia, two from Croatia, one from Kosovo and three born in Slovenia. They were coming in different period, half of them before the collapse of Yugoslavia and one third from 1990s on. One fifth have less than secondary education, one third has finished some kind of secondary schools and half of them were highly educated professionals. At the time of collecting their stories (in the years 2010 and 2011) they were living in different parts of Slovenia, three of them in rural areas, six in smaller towns and the rest in the bigger cities and the capital city Ljubljana, where they were also interviewed.

While collecting the stories of migrant women, we were interested in all sorts of questions: When and why did they come to the decision to leave their homes and come to Slovenia? What were their first impressions, experiences, fears and hopes, disappointments and surprises when encountering the new environment? What help or obstacles did they experience in their contact with the people in the new environment? What were their first experiences of the people, language, culture, habits and traditions in the new setting? What methods did they employ in keeping in touch with their native environment? How did they see themselves in the new environment and how were they perceived by others? How were their lives and decisions marked by the fact that they were women? How do they feel in the new environment today? How do they feel about not being ethnically Slovenian? What possible discriminatory treatment or stigmatizations within the public sphere or private life have they experienced? Could they provide a general evaluation of their lives in Slovenia (benefits and shortcomings) and their thoughts on the (near) future?

In order to limit the life story narration to the migratory experiences, we clearly explained to the interviewee the point of their purposes. Thus the conversation was not limited to any strict questionnaire, but rather took the form of a more or less open talk about migratory experiences that often revealed noteworthy perspectives and significant anecdotes. For the following paper we selected only a few aspects that decompose or even reject the stereotypical assumptions about women immigrants from other parts of the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia. Each of the mentioned stories discloses at least a part of the (until now) unseen, hidden or veiled, maybe even intentionally overlooked features of the lives of migrant women from the former Yugoslavia.

FROM PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF MIGRANT WOMEN

The choice of taking into account migrant women's stories as a tool to elucidate migratory experiences was

stimulated by their contextualized significance. It was also a convincing and reasonable way to go beyond many stereotypes including such as the exclusively suffering or solely liberating image of their migratory story. Moreover, all the stories regardless to their perspectives are reflecting hardships as well as improvement of their living conditions, which shouldn't be seen as oppositions, but rather as polarities, as extreme parts of life confining the wholeness.

Here we have decided to present only a few perspectives that present women's migratory experiences, namely their own explanations of migratory decisions, the making of their social network and the developments of their identification processes. These – as already described above – are among the most ordinary, yet highly one-dimensionally presented issues in the understanding of migration through the perceptions of the dominant society. Many of the findings may not substantially vary in the light of gender differences, in spite of prevalence of the gendered stereotypes. However, this empirically based conclusion calls for making women recognized in the migratory processes, not only due to their long-lasting invisibility or alleged unimportance, but because they constitute a comparable share of the migrating population and thus adequately contribute to the societies, the sending and the receiving ones.

Behind the decisions to move

We already mentioned that migrations in former Yugoslav context (as in many other cases) were mostly understood in economic terms and for a long time primarily related to a male population (Malačič, 2008) or researched in a family context (Mežnarić, 1986). Researching the reasons and motives behind people's decision to move, to leave the country of origin is not an easy task. Official statistics can only partially explain migrant processes, as they merely reveal official perspective imposed by the interest of the state. Without a tendency to marginalize their importance, we have to emphasize, that they usually lack information enabling an insight in the combination of various factors and actors according to which the decision to migrate was formed. In terms of statistics the prevalent motive to migrate might be still "to find a job", but the real stimulation might also be different, like family unification and studying (Medvešek, Bešter, 2010, 57). It is often assumed that under the reason "to find a job" stays a man and under the reason "family unification" stays a woman, however empirical facts do not always confirm such an assumption.

The following bits and pieces from the stories of migrant women in Slovenia show that many women themselves either made migratory decisions on their own, or significantly influenced the decision of their partners. Apart from that the economic reasons were not the only or not at all the cause of migration and their migratory experiences have some gendered specificities. As in other researches of migrant women in Slovenia and elsewhere (Slany et al., 2010; Kofman et al., 2000) our research too, found variety of reasons, motives and factors that lead women to come to the decision to migrate. Variety, multiplicity and intersection of reasons include not only economic necessity, but also love and marriage, personal independence, escaping from unfortunate environment, violence in private or public life, oppressive familial or gender roles, gendered roles and normative expectation, seeking better chances for personal development in schooling or in professional life, new opportunities for social and occupational mobility (compare also Metz-Göckel et al. 2008). Such motives were often found as reasons to move in many stories we collected.

As Vladanka, coming to Slovenia from Serbia in the late 1970s, trained as economist explained her decision by emphasizing her falling in love as a main factor to start such an adventure, when she was only 19:

> *"We met by coincidence because he was visiting my neighbour during holidays. We met in May, … and I was already here in November. I didn't come because I had to. I had a great job down there.... Here, it took me a long time to become somebody.… Maybe if I had waited a little longer, I could've changed my mind."*

Or as Magdalena, an ambitious and aspiring student of medicine, coming from smaller Macedonian town in the late 1970s pointed out obsolete, enclosed surrounding and prevalent apathy among its habitants:

> *"I somehow always wanted to leave. I don't know why, I never saw myself in this Kruševo of mine.... People were ignorant. I always wanted to go somewhere. I'm an urban type, small environments bother, kill me. I always thought that I was only here [in small town of Krško, Slovenia] temporarily, that I would eventually move to some larger city."*

Another stereotype that is also strongly anchored in the gender-blind perspectives on migrants, is that migrating women were simply following their husbands. However, a detailed view of their decisions to leave their original environments reveals further complexities, indicating numerous reasons for their migratory decisions.

In our cases (for comparison see also Slany et al., 2010) we frequently noticed other reasons, such as escaping from the destiny of being a woman in a rural environment, subordinated not only to the husband but also to his family and relatives, being controlled by the small and enclosed rural communities, who expected of young women to stay at the home of her absent husband, who was working abroad as "gastarbeiter".

The idea of independence and the wish to avoid the control of patriarchal family patterns led one of our in-

terviewees to propose to her then-boyfriend, a worker in Slovenia, to marry. The disappointment over the fate of a married woman in rural Bosnia encouraged her to depart for Slovenia. Her departure could easily be understood as following her husband, but from her narrative it is evident, that it was mainly conditioned by the escape from the farm work. Dinka, coming to Ljubljana in the beginning of the 1980s recollects her thoughts about that time:

> *"Independent in Bosnia, come on! /.../ Then I really saw what life is. … A stable full of cows, a farm ... man, you had to work hard, you work there from four in the morning to nine, ten in the evening, get it?"*

In recent periods (during the war in the region and immediately after) and in multiple cases, emigration was connected to the possibilities of studying at the university level, which were not available in their home environments; or to escape from political pressure, growing nationalism; or to find new opportunities, challenges, "free and creative expression" etc. In this period, we observe the trend of an active migratory participation of young and educated women.

The following narratives of a young theatre director and a woman at the beginning of her academic career prove, that they were not at all followers of their partners, but independent actors in their migration processes, finding the 'room of one's own':

> *"I basically came during the spring of the Belgrade bombing in 1999, and I somehow managed to enrol into a postgraduate course..." (Ivana)*

> *"1986 was crucial for me.... I started lecturing in Ljubljana, I became a feminist, and our nomadism got new qualities..... And when I lost my job in '88, my position in Belgrade, all because of politics, because at that time I had already been a national traitor... I started spending more and more time in Ljubljana." (Svetlana)*

Gender dimension in the decisions to move is clearly visible in the selected quotes. Many (not only educated and emancipated) women were not simply followers of their partners and husbands, but played an active role in their migratory life trajectories. Mostly as ones who consciously escaped a predictable fate of a woman in their native cultural settings actively engaged in the construction of their education or professional careers abroad. Allegedly dependant role seems to be transferred from the past understanding of the women's social position, despite the fact, that women's migratory paths were partially planned independently in the past as well, particularly as paid domestic servants outside their homes.

"Old" networks in new places

Migration processes within ex-Yugoslav context manifest some specificities for it was a once common state, that shared similar educational system, comparable labour market, same legal system, and official Serbo-Croatian language, that was understood and spoken throughout the state. Surely that made the migratory decisions for people from other Yugoslav republics to Slovenia easier. Apart from that, in Slovenia there has been a growing community of immigrants and their descendants from the South since the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941). Moreover, there were vivid migratory flows within the Habsburg Monarchy (that occupied the territory of nowadays Bosnia and Herzegovina already in 1878) since the mid 19th Century on. Historical evidences confirm longer tradition of social ties between the society in Slovenia and its Southern neighbours than supposed at the first glance.

Migration does not represent a completely new phenomenon for the interviewed women in our sample either. Coming from either rural areas, from the parts of lacking opportunities to suit their ambitions, or from the social backgrounds with poorer possibilities to lead an independent life, many of these women have already experienced migration within their familial or communal circles. Thus, in many of the cases the decision to migrate was made easier whenever they were able to lean upon the migratory experience of their social networks. Relatives, friends, neighbours or acquaintances who had already migrated either to Slovenia or to other places in Europe offered them help in the difficult beginning phase of their adaptation to an unknown environment (for comparison see Slany et al., 2010). These social networks, consisting of family members and relatives, who provided them with information about proper housing or offered them at least a modest room to stay for a certain period. With their help they often obtained even a substantial financial support.

> *"One roommate gave us some space occasionally... we just had to wait for the doorman to leave'… 'And then he found a flat... and his brother lent us some money." (Dinka)*

> *"Then we stayed with his sister for three months … she had a flat. My father who was working here and saw that this could not go on in a two-bedroom apartment, that there were too many of us, as she had her own family… Then my father found us something with some lady..." (Arzija)*

This phenomenon could be understood as an aspect of chain migration, whose constitutive effect is an establishment of ethnic enclaves, a space with characteristic cultural identity and a high degree of economic self-sufficiency (Waldinger, 1993). However according to the

narratives it seems that immigrant's social networks in Slovenia were far from enclosed communities. All these women, who were forced to engage in the new environment outside their familial circles, gradually established rather firm contacts with the collective, regardless to its ethnic background. Furthermore, contacts these women made at work or with acquaintances, neighbours were often two-directional; they were slowly integrating into Slovenian culture, yet they also determined and changed it in certain aspects.

> *"When I was working at home /.../ we all drank coffee together. But here, every woman had her own džezva [a coffee pot] and her own coffee. There were fifteen women in the collective here and each had her own džezva! /.../ Another day my boss asks me, if I drink coffee at all. I say, yes, I do, but we don't drink coffee the way you do it here, I haven't brought any džezva and anything with me. And she says, how did you drink coffee then? I say, we had a big common džezva and we drank coffee together. Then she says, what if we do it the same way? So we bought a big džezva and coffee and started making coffee together. /.../ At the end of the month we again had to pay for coffee precisely according to how much we drank. I don't like it, it's a bit funny, I say. She says, and how would you do it? Well, we shouldn't write down each and every coffee. We should collect the money or I will bring the coffee myself. And then I bought a kilo of coffee, till it lasted. And slowly they got used to not to check up every single cup of coffee." (Vladanka)*

The above telling excerpt from Vladanka' story demonstrate how important are social networks for the migrant women to feel as a part of a new collective. It also gives interesting insight into how Vladanka made contacts – through the concrete situation of making coffee. As in many other migrant women's accounts, Vladanka' narration also contains many parts about food and particularly about coffee, an important socializing element in her country of origin. Talking about coffee in this context tells less about the ritual itself and more about her feelings of disappointment, acceptance, hospitality etc. in the light of cultural encounters within her working collective.

The questions of identity and identification

Starting to live in a new cultural, ethnic, religious settings, becoming a part of new social networks (in local community, professional contexts, schools etc.) does affect every person's perceptions of belonging and identifications. Although the new Slovenian environment had many similar elements with the immigrant women's native one, there were also some cultural features making newcomers distinctive, what lead to the process of "othering". To make and keep immigrants different, the nationals in Slovenia in the 1990s created boundaries along the ethnic lines to show who belongs to the nation (and who does not) in the newborn state, which was predominantly formed on cultural (ethnic) foundations (comp.Yuval Davis, 1977).

One can often hear remarks that immigrants who came to Slovenia, stay here for good and endanger the small Slovenian nation. This notion came from the linear, one-directional model of migration in which there is a clear division between the nation-state and their nationals and the outsiders, newcomers.

It is true that many of them stayed longer than they planned, many of them stayed for good, but there are also many who went further to other European countries and some of them also returned to their native homeland. Regardless to the time of their staying in Slovenia, the creation new social networks, familiarizing with new norms, values and habits valid in Slovenia, affected their individualities, their self-perceptions and their perceptions in the eyes of others – those in Slovenia and those in their native homelands.

The perceptions of identities of our informants reflect the notion of identifications that are not fixed but subjected to change, constantly forming and re-forming and being contextual and relational (both, in the relation to their relatives and friends in their homeland or to their relatives and friends in Slovenia). There is a constant negotiation between a conscious belonging to the community in which they were originating and their own personal position, affiliations and belongings to a new context. They often found being perceived as "the others" in both environments.

Goga, a Ljubljana-born booking agent, whose parents came to Slovenia from rural Bosnia in the 1970s, comments the following:

> *"When I come among quasi 'my people', they call me Slovenian, while in Slovenia I'm considered čefurka. I was long thinking about who actually am I. Basically I can't label myself – and that doesn't even bother me very much – but I feel at home here, my roots are there, I was baptized as an Othrodox ... My father says, I'm a pure Southerner by nature and I've always been proud of that."*

Goga recognizes the influence of her parents' culture in her up-bringing, but she doesn't define herself in ethnic way, as one would expect. We could determine her identity as a mixture of various cultural features, which contain no special ethnic labels. She ties her identification to the place, where she feels at home, to the place of her parents' origin, including a symbolic religious adherence, and culturally based psychological characteristics that are rather ascribed to a region and not to a nation.

The stories in our collection confirm how problematic the understandings of fixed and stable identity are. There is a wide variety of self-perceptions and perceptions of the community in which the interviewed women lived before and perceptions of them in the communities which they moved to. There is a strong need for a complex understanding of their positioning within relations in their homeland, within the country of migration and within their own ethnic communities and networks (see also Anthias, Cederberg, 2010, 21). All these moments can be important for their identifications. These perceptions can be opposing and conflicting and have an impact on the self-perceptions of who they are. They often observe to be neither true Slovenians in the eyes of their Slovenian friends, neighbours or colleagues at work nor true Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian or Macedonians in the eyes of their relatives or friends in their native lands. They always lack something (or have something too much): they either do not speak properly native languages any more, do not follow their native cultural habits or do not understand their politics, which among their natives place them on the side of the "other". On the other hand, their neighbours in Slovenia will always treat them as different as they will never speak Slovenian without an accent or they may talk too loudly or be dressed too differently. Consequently, they will be quickly identified as 'not us', but as 'the others', 'southerners', 'bosnians' or 'čefurs'.

As one of respondents recollects, she had not thought about her nationality until she came to Slovenia. Slovenians signified her as non-Slovenian, and that made here aware of her 'otherness':

> *"Even when we were still in Bosnia I didn't know what I was until, you know, when I came here ... and I had to go to the council office to get my employment record book and they asked me what I was, and I had no idea what to say. I said I was Serbian and they would always put that down in my book, but I'm not Serbian ... I didn't know ... Because back then it wasn't important what you were." (Arzija)*

In the so-called new migration migrants do not follow the pattern of linear migration, but are rather migrants with multiple ties and interactions with the people and institutions across the borders of nation states and with different dynamics in the field of economy, culture and politics (Vertovec in Anthias, Cederberg, 2010). These transnational migrations are often multidimensional, multidirectional movements of people, capital, goods and ideas. Moreover, being transnational could mean going beyond national belongings. They go in many ways and include multiple locations, multiple belongings, hybrid language adaptations, hybrid cultural choices and last but not least hybrid identities (Sedmak, 2011).

Through the personal accounts, we can find all sorts of identification that are articulated through language similarity, habits and customs and that reflect the nomadic nature, multi-layered character, complexity and hybridity of their identities (sexual, ethnic, social and other). Similar findings had been observed in other studies, too (Braidotti, Vonk, 2004; Razpotnik, 2004; Kalčić, 2007; Milharčič Hladnik, 2007).

Personal responses to these complex realities are different, and mirror not fixed but ever-changing and constant reflection on oneself. In this regard it is important to take into account also the identifications with various groups (whether be ethnic, regional, professional, subcultural, familial etc.) one wants to belong to and is accepted or not.

> *"Years ago when I was younger I felt more Bosnian. But actually I've been getting to know myself for years now and I can see today that I am a mixture of different identities. There is a part of Slovenian culture in me, I carry it inside which becomes quite obvious when I come to Bosnia. The Bosnians there always notice that you're from Slovenia... And now that I live in Koper, I feel I'm from Ljubljana. I'm not a local from Koper, Primorska and so on. And the locals immediately recognize my accent ''Oh, from Ljubljana." A mixture." (Emina)*

Others, who are conscious of their complex identities and sometimes even opposing features of their identification avoid labelling, believing that the personality is what really counts:

> *"If anyone asks me what I am, I am Goga. I don't feel, and not in a bad way, I don't feel Slovenian, not a person from the South, I am what I am. I don't want to classify myself, I originate from down there, my habits and upbringing are a bit mixed, but I grew up here and Slovenia is my home." (Goga)*

A successfully engaged theatre director noticed changes and instability of being labelled by the Slovenians as well. Ivana for instance observed that she got several different signifiers in a very short period, in which her native city (and not a nationality), profession, age and gender took an important role:

> *"First I was 'a female director from Belgrade', and 'a female director originating from Belgrade' and 'a young female director' ... now 'an established young female director', well now I'm going to be 'a former Belgradian' in the play introduction for the first time... but that's the way it is..." (Ivana)*

Jasminka, born in Rijeka, Croatia in the 1950s, living in Brežice, Slovenia since the 1970s, describes the ways

of coping with different layers of one's identifications. It is interesting and telling, how she can switch from one to the other without being particularly bothered about that:

"I don't really care nowadays ... I am both ... I watch Slovenian news, I watch Croatian news, I watch 'Slovenia's got talent' and 'Croatia star search' ... Sometimes I don't know if I listened to the Slovenian or Croatian area and it's still an obstacle for me. I could speak Slovenian flawlessly, but I can't because I'm in constant contact with Croatian people and TV shows... so... I'm torn between the two. The border bothers me horribly because my country is basically both, Slovenia and Croatia."

As we could see the identities of these women are – as is true for all of us – composed of various (not only ethnic) components and they often adapt to different situations and face opposing influences and perceptions. At the same time we have to recognize that collected statements reflect the moment in which they were collected, for all narratives are subjected to changes and modifications at a different time and location.

Despite their multifaceted identity, stories of every single immigrant women contained a clear adherence and affiliation to their original space and a rather strong identification with tradition that is evident through various cultural practices, use of language in privacy, possession of symbolic items, values or interpretations of the past. Yet it is not hard to notice that their original cultural features seem altered, "contaminated" by the cultural influence of the receiving society. Apart from their own traditional, some of them celebrate Slovenian national holidays, for they "*don't need to work in those days"* and they can *"associate with Slovenian friends*". When they speak Slovenian, one could notice, Slovenian is not their maternal language, yet also their native language has tended to lose its richness. Objects from/of their home-countries, like pictures, statues, little fridge-magnets and other souvenirs are accompanied by objects, carrying memories of the times spent in Slovenia. And as Vladanka said, her culinary tastes have broadened enough to love Slovenian *kisla repa* (pickled turnip) and *pečenica* (sort of bratwurst), that could not be found in her country, besides her favourite *"Serbian dish, sarma and goulash*". For the end, maybe we should just return to Vladanka's own words:

"Somehow it seems to me, it's better here. Especially in the way how things are organized. Sometimes I miss this efficiency in Serbia. Down there things are often in disorder. /.../ This really annoys me sometimes. My brother-in-law often says that I became a real Slovenian /laugh/."

CONCLUSION

In this research, we did not want to collect a representative sample of life stories, but to gather a diverse collection of personal accounts which could give us better understanding of migration movements from the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, mutual influences at the macro, mezzo and micro levels on decisions for migration and the course of acculturation in the new environment. These stories map numerous directions in these women's journeys, swinging and shifting in spaces, 'spaces' and places, not only geographically, but also culturally and symbolically.

Personal accounts of women migrants offer insights in the daily routine of their immigrant life in Slovenia, which differs substantially from the usual or official representations. Their narratives frequently diminish the dependent migrant role they were ascribed to. Yet there are also cases, which do correspond to the traditional image, as some of these women indeed came from patriarchal communities, where social roles were more traditionally gender-specific than in Slovenian context. However, the participation in a different environment significantly influenced their behaviour, their social expectations and values.

In contrast to the expectations, the ever-present economic factor is surprisingly not so much emphasized in the women's narratives. It is often so, that personal positioning does not always match the official classifications. In their narrations women often exposed other crucial reasons for moving abroad, despite the fact that they were widely seen as economic migrants in the Slovenian society; they were talking about psychological and emotional stability, about feelings of safety, about fulfilling their ambitions, making an adventurous step in their lives. Dealing with individual's perspective may change the usual viewpoint of the researcher and calls for a different language register. Every categorisation, be it juridical, bureaucratic, academic or personal, brings out different perceptions of who a migrant is and what is to be expected from him or her.

The structure and contextualization of immigrant women's narration expose the meaning and importance of familial or communal or *mezzo* level that has repeatedly been obscured by other over-presented themes in migration studies, such as ethnicity, nationality and religion. In women's accounts about themselves family matters are quite emphasized. The majority of life stories thus prove the importance and strength of family and community ties, which provided the respondents with the needed social and emotional capital to enable easier adaptation and acculturation in the new social environment. Consequently, also the ways women identify themselves often tends to identifications at micro and mezzo levels, such as familial, gendered, generational, professional or completely unique personal identification. This does not necessarily mean, that they ignore,

neglect or deny their ethnic or national descend or original religious belief and practices. Yet their identification in ethnic or religious sense shows a great variety of choices, often quite ambivalent, which are a consequence of the "testing" atmosphere of living in immigration.

From empirical findings we could see that cultural practices in immigrant families do not necessarily fit those ascribed to their ethnic origin, and similarly they also differ from those of the country of immigration. Be it liberating or anxious, perception of the new environment, new life-experiences, possible shifts in their system of values and cultural practices may induce unique cultural features. Taking into account the immigrants' micro and mezzo level, where women proved to be the finest spectators and narrators, could add to the less stereotyped image of not only immigrants, but also of women in their midst.



Ženska s starim kovčkom/Woman hold old suitcase. http://depositphotos.com/

PRISPEVEK K RAZUMEVANJU *ČEFURK*

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POVZETEK

Članek osvetljuje migracijske procese žensk iz prostora nekdanje Jugoslavije na območje današnje Slovenije. V časovni perspektivi jemlje v raziskovalni fokus tako protagonistke notranjih državnih migracij v okviru povojne Jugoslavije kot tudi novejše valove priseljenk, ki so prišle v Slovenijo iz držav, ki so se oblikovale po razpadu skupne države. Glavni namen pričujočega besedila je izzvati poglede, ki se slovenski družbi o teh priseljenkah posredujejo skozi medijske podobe, ki ostajajo pretežno nereflektirane. Obenem se avtorici osredotočata predvsem na prikaz posebnosti, ki jih v omenjenih migracijskih procesih določa vidik spola. Poleg običajne nevidnosti, ki velja za priseljenke, so raziskavo, ki je vir tega zapisa, spodbudile prevladujoče podobe priseljenk iz bivše Jugoslavije kot pasivnih in »odvisnih« migrantk, predstavljenih kot manj pomembnih članov družine ter zaprtih v zasebno polje gospodinjstva in materinstva. Prispevek skuša iti preko takšnih posplošitev, poenostavitev in stereotipnih predstav, zato za empirično podlago jemlje osebne pripovedi samih priseljenk. S pomočjo biografske metode, ki omogoča kontekstualne in intersekcijske vpoglede v migracijske procese, avtorici analizirata dvajset življenjskih zgodb priseljenk iz različnih okolij in socialnih ozadij, da bi lahko ugotovili spolne specifike priseljenskih in integracijskih procesov, v katere so vključene priseljenke iz okolij nekdanje Jugoslavije. Empirične ugotovitve, ki so predstavljene v članku, razkrivajo dokaj raznoliko podobo priseljenk v Sloveniji. Skozi ženske migracijske izkušnje se kaže njihov, pogosto jim zanikan, aktiven in avtonomen pristop pri vstopanju v in prilagajanju na novo okolje. Zgodbe razkrivajo tudi, da se ekonomski dejavnik, ki z makroperspektive ostaja ključen pri odločitvi za izselitev, v pripovedih priseljenk sploh ne kaže tako pogosto, kot na splošno velja. Priseljenke so pogosto izpostavile druge ključne razloge, ki so botrovali njihovi izselitvi, predvsem v navezavi na vprašanja duševne in čustvene stabilnost, občutek varnosti, kjer velja izpostavti beg usodi njihovega spola v patriarhalnem okolju. ipd. Zlasti pa so izpostavile pomen in moč družinskih vezi in povezanosti z okoljem, v katerem živijo, oziroma pomen socialnega in emocionalnega kapitala v procesih prilagajanja novemu okolju in akulturaciji vanj. Pokazalo se je tudi, da kulturne prakse v okviru priseljenskih družin ne ustrezajo vselej tem, ki se pripisujejo njihovemu etničnemu izvoru, podobno pa se razlikujejo tudi od družbe, kamor so se priselile. Njihove zgodbe razkrivajo, da nove življenjske izkušnje, premiki v vrednotenju in kulturnih praksah pogosto sprožajo povsem unikatne kulturne poteze in identifikacijske inovacije.

Ključne besede: ženske, priseljenke, Slovenija, nekdanja Jugoslavija, življenjske zgodbe

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OCENE

RECENSIONI

REVIEWS

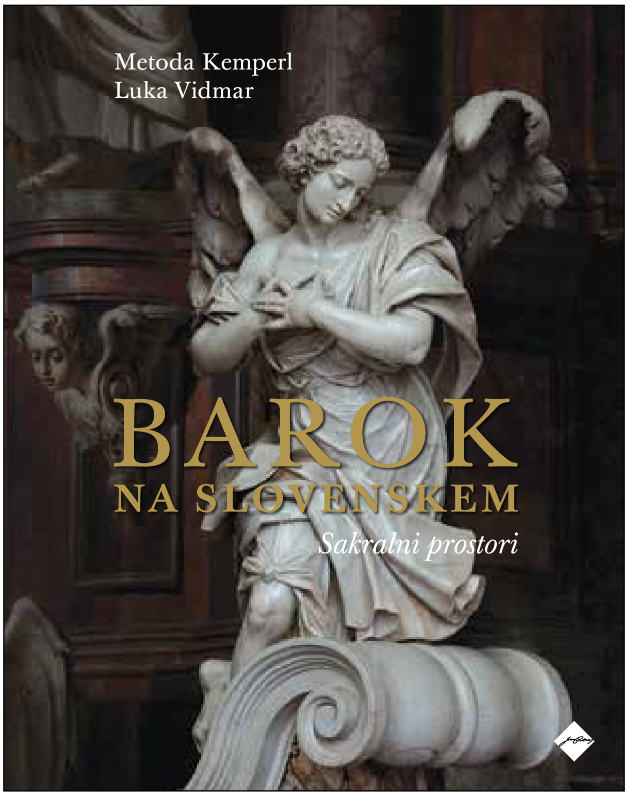
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REVIEWS

Metoda Kemperl, Luka Vidmar (2014):
BAROK NA SLOVENSKEM. SAKRALNI PROSTORI.
Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana, 271 strani.

Monografija *Barok na Slovenskem. Sakralni prostori* je težko pričakovano znanstveno delo, v katerem je predstavljena baročna sakralna umetnost na naših tleh na nov, celosten in objektiven način – predstavi nam jo v luči, ki povezuje dosedanja znanja, osvetljuje posamezna dognanja novih raziskav in ustvarja nadgrajeno sintezo preučevane teme.

Kot nam že v uvodnih stavkih predstavita avtorja monografije, je bil baročni slog izredno priljubljen, saj so ga vladarji in plemiči izkoristili za »učinkovito predstavljanje političnih idej ter vtis moči, hierarhije in bogastva« duhovniki in verniki vseh stanov »pa so cenili njegovo zmožnost osupljivega brisanja meja med realnim in namišljenim oziroma med nebesi in zemljo«. Naslednji stoletji, torej 19. in 20. stoletje, sta se odzvali na barok precej ostro in ga opisovali tudi kot izumetničen, zabuhli slog. Navdušenje nad njim je v tem času praktično zamrlo in šele po sredini 20. stoletja se je zanimanje raziskovalcev za ta slog začelo povečevati. Tako je tudi pri nas raziskav slovenske baročne umetnosti vse več, a ob tem se pogosto vzpostavi razumevanje slovenskega baroka kot nekaj perifernega in zamudniškega. To neupravičeno tolmačenje baroka avtorja knjige s svojim delom presegata, saj v monografiji izpostavita dosežke baročne umetnosti na Slovenskem, ki pričajo o ravno nasprotnem. Številna dela na Slovenskem sodijo v sam vrh srednjeevropskega baroka. Baročni slog se je pri nas, tako kot drugje v Evropi (če odmislimo Rim kot center in domovino baročnega sloga) dokončno uveljavil okrog leta 1700, čeprav zgodnjebaročni slog najdemo že približno pol stoletja prej. Zelo zgodaj smo dobili vrhunske umetnine, saj je na primer Andrea Pozzo prej delal za kranjsko prestolnico kot za Dunaj, ljubljanska stolnica pa se ponaša tudi z eno prvih monumentalnih iluzionističnih poslikav v visokobaročnem slogu v habsburški monarhiji. O neprovincialnosti priča tudi dejstvo, da so bili naročniki baročnih del na Slovenskem pogosto iz vrst visokega oziroma najvišjega plemstva. Ljubljansko križniško cerkev je dal postaviti Guidobald grof Starhemberg, eden najpomembnejših cesarskih vojskovodij svojega časa. Za opremo cerkve je pridobil tri habsburške cesarice (Margareto Eleonoro, Elizabeto Kristino in Amalijo Viljemino), ki so plačale cenjene dunajske mojstre. Pripadnice vladajoče habsburške dinastije pa so tudi tekmovale, katera bo »gornjegrajskemu Ksaverju« poslala dragocenejši votivni dar. Tako v Radmirju pri Gornjem gradu še danes lahko obiščemo zakladnico, ki hrani bogato vezene mašne ornate in kvalitetno obdelano liturgično posodje, ki je prihajalo iz najpomembnejših evropskih dvorov.

Knjiga, katere avtorja se z barokom ukvarjata že skoraj dve desetletji, je zasnovana kot znanstvena monografija, ki poleg izčrpnega znanstvenega aparata in doslednih citatov ponuja tudi vso za obravnavano področje relevantno literaturo. V monografiji je predstavljenih dvaintrideset cerkva oziroma sakralnih prostorov, ki jih je zaznamoval barok v skoraj dveh stoletji. Avtorja sta sakralne prostore izbrala na podlagi različnih kriterijev kot sta reprezentativnost objekta in umetniška kvaliteta baročnih del, upoštevala pa sta tudi kriteriji geografske uravnoteženosti, saj je imel slovenski prostor že tedaj lokalne posebnosti in razlike. Slednje je najbolje vidno v sami delitvi spomenikov v tri velika poglavja – na osrednjo, vzhodno in zahodno Slovenijo. Poleg naštetih kriterijev za izbor sta avtorja z izbranimi prostori poskušala tudi pokazati na umetnostnozgodovinski razvoj baročne umetnosti. Tako se lahko bralec na začetku seznani s cerkvami, ki so bile oblikovane še v prehodnem slogu, ki je združeval gotske, renesančne, manieristične in zgodnjebaročne prvine (na primer cerkve v Dobravljah, Obršljanu pri Komnu, Novi Štifti pri Ribnici) in tistimi, ki vsebujejo palladijanske elemente (piranska župnijska cerkev, cerkev v Puščavi), pa vse do tistih, ki pripadajo poznemu baroku (Hofferjeva cerkev na Sladki gori in Perskyjeva v Gornjem gradu) in poznobaročnemu klasicizmu (cerkev v Tunjicah, delo Lovrenca Pragerja, cerkev v Cerkljah, delo Leopolda Hofferja in stolnica v Kopru, delo Giorgia Massarija).



Sakralni prostori so v monografiji predstavljeni v kulturno-zgodovinskem kontekstu. Pri tem je poudarjena njihova prvotna funkcija, vpetost cerkva v čas in prostor ter njihova povezanost z družbo, posameznikom in posledično z družbenimi spremembami. Zastopane so župnijske, samostanske in bratovščinske cerkve, največji delež pa pripada romarskim cerkvam, ki so imele ključno vlogo pri utrjevanju katoliške vere. Zato so jim skozi celotno obdobje posvečali posebno pozornost, so tudi najbogatejše in najrazkošneje opremljene in poslikane. Pri postavljanju in opremljanju teh cerkva pa so poleg cerkvene oblasti imeli zelo pomembno vlogo tudi plemiški donatorji. Ti so s temi zunanjimi znaki v času protireformacije kazali, da so pravi katoličani, saj so povečini izhajali iz protestantskih družin. Tako so v knjigi zaradi takih donacij prisotni Janez Jakob baron Khisl, ki je podprl gradnjo romarske cerkve v Novi Štifti pri Ribnici, Lovrenc grof Lanthieri, mecen obnove Marijine cerkve v Obršljanu pri Komnu in Wolf Engelbert grof Auersperg, kranjski deželni glavar, ki je prispeval k zidavi kapele sv. Frančiška Ksaverja pri ljubljanski jezuitski cerkvi. Baročni sakralni prostori niso bili le pričevalci o spremembah in dejavnostih višjih slojev, ampak so v knjigi predstavljeni tudi kot pričevalce o življenju prebivalstva nižjih slojev. O prošnjah, željah, nesrečah in potrebah vernikov, ki so iz domačega zavetja poromali v milostne kraje, kjer so se priporočili čudodelni sliki ali kipu, največ izvemo prav iz upodobitev v romarskih cerkvah. Želje za boljši jutri so tu izgovarjali mnogi posamezniki, ne glede na družbeni sloj, ki so mu pripadali. S knjigo *Barok na Slovenskem. Sakralni prostori* je bralcu predstavljen sakralni prostor v vsej svoji večplastnosti in v pomembni socialni vlogi, ki jo je imela cerkev v tedanji družbi, saj je predstavljala stičišče različnih slojev ter je v veri v moč teh milostnih krajev združevala posameznike od cesaric do beračev.

Že omenjena tri poglavja pojasnjuje uvodno poglavje, kjer so spretno prepletena umetnostna področja arhitekture, kiparstva in slikarstva v zgoščen oris razvoja baročnega sloga na Slovenskem, ki je vpet v širši kontekst kulturnih razmer v Evropi in na Slovenskem. Tako je predstavljen pregled slovenske baročne umetnosti v 17. in 18. stoletju, ki temelji na rezultatih najnovejših raziskav. S svojim delom sta avtorja uspela bralcu predstaviti baročno dediščino kot uporaben in v svetu sodobnega človeka še vedno aktualen mediji za prikaz tedanjih kulturnih dogajanj.

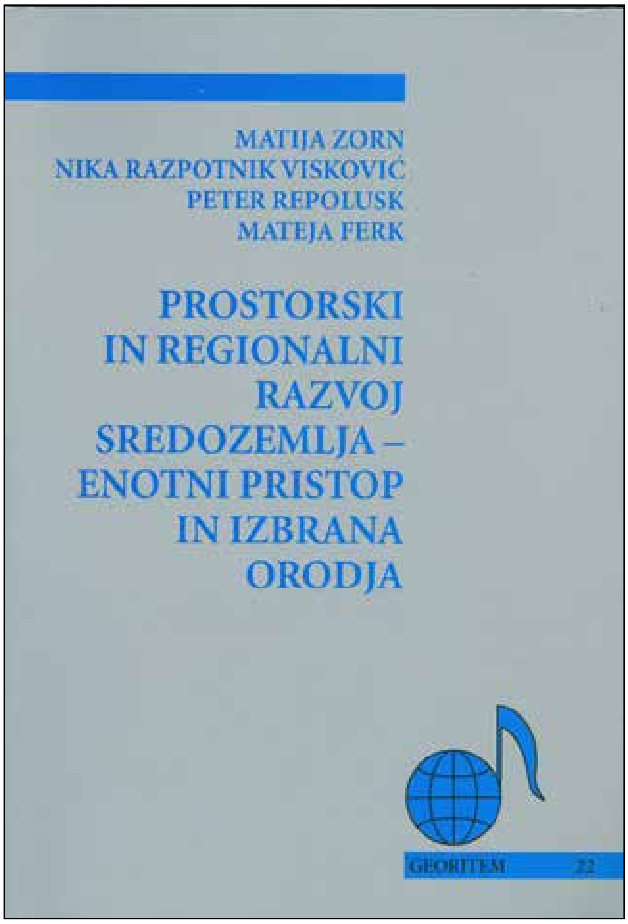
Avtorja sta v knjigi združila svoje delo na način, ki je za slovensko znanstveno publicistiko redek, a nadvse dobrodošel. Besedilo sta namreč povezala v celoto, ki je ne delijo posamezni avtorsko podpisani prispevki, ampak deluje celotna monografija kot delo enega avtorja. Tako bolje nagovarja bralca in ga vabi ne samo k branju, ampak tudi k ogledu predstavljenih baročnih spomenikov. Zaradi vseh navedenih razlogov knjiga *Barok na Slovenskem. Sakralni prostori* uspešno opozarja na najdragocenejša umetniška dela naše preteklosti in ne napeljuje le znanstvenikov, temveč tudi širšo strokovno in laično javnost k doživljanju in razumevanju, pa tudi k ohranjanju teh izjemnih spomenikov.

Ines Unetič

Matija Zorn, Nika Razpotnik Visković, Peter Repolusk, Mateja Ferk (2013): PROSTORSKI IN REGIONALNI RAZVOJ SREDOZEMLJA – ENOTNI PRISTOP IN IZBRANA ORODJA, Geografski Inštitut Antona Melika ZRC SAZU, Zbirka Georitem 22, Ljubljana, 141 strani.

Knjiga je rezultat sodelovanja Geografskega inštituta Antona Melika ZRC SAZU pri projektu OTREMED, financiranega v okviru EU transnacionalnega sodelovanja za območje Sredozemlja, v sklopu programa Mediteran (http://www.programmemed.eu/en), ki je potekal v letih 2010-13. Cilj projekta OTREMED je bil razvoj orodja za strateško prostorsko načrtovanje v Sredozemlju (Tool for the Territorial Strategy of the MED Space) ter oblikovanje metodologije za enoten pristop k spremljanju prostorskega in razvojnega načrtovanja, ki temelji na izbranih razvojnih dejavnikih in kazalnikih. Evropsko Sredozemlje je geografsko, gospodarsko in politično zelo raznoliko območje, zato je doseči skladnejši in uravnotežen regionalni razvoj zelo zahteven cilj, dosegljiv le s teritorialnim sodelovanjem in skupnim načrtovanjem. V knjigi so najprej predstavljene temeljne naravno in družbeno geografske značilnosti Sredozemlja ter opredelitve sredozemske regije po različnih regionalizacijah, ki so tudi kartografsko prikazane. Iz prikazanega je razvidna velika pestrost, ki otežuje omejitev regije tudi v Sloveniji. Sledi tipologija problemskih območij v evropskem Sredozemlju s podobnimi geografskimi in družbeno-ekonomskimi značilnostmi, ki ločuje osem kategorij: mega urbana območja, obalna urbana območja, urbana območja v zaledju, podeželska območja z intenzivnim kmetijstvom, prehodna podeželska območja, podeželska območja z razvojnimi problemi, majhne otoke in otočja. V podpoglavju »koncept regionalne konkurenčnosti in teritorialne kohezije v Evropski uniji« so predstavljeni najprej nekateri že sprejeti dokumenti in strategije, kot so Lizbonska strategija, Evropa 2020, Evropska perspektiva prostorskega razvoja, Teritorialna agenda Evropske unije, nato pa glavni razvojni izzivi in razvojni dejavniki, ki vplivajo na teritorialno kohezijo in konkurenčnost sredozemskih regij: oživljanje urbanega sistema, raziskave in razvoj, razmerje podeželje-mesto, prometna dostopnost, dostop do informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije, trajnostna energetska oskrba, varstvo pred (naravnimi) nesrečami in upravljanje z naravnimi viri, upravljanje s kulturno dediščino, vzdržnost regionalnih ekonomskih virov, upravljanje/vodenje in prostorsko načrtovanje (vrednotenje prostora, upravljanje s prostorom, načrtovanje de-

javnosti, varovanje kulturne pokrajine). Kot zanimivost lahko omenimo, da problemske regije obalnih urbanih območij zadeva kar 16 razvojnih izzivov, medtem ko urbana območja v zaledju le 11, kar nakazuje zahtevnejše prostorsko in razvojno načrtovanje v obalnih območjih. Poglavitni cilj projekta OTREMED je bil razvoj orodij za spremljanje razvoja, ki temelji na sistemu kazalnikov. Predvidena je bila uporaba kazalnikov, ki so bili metodološko preverjeni v predhodnih projektih ter oblikovanje nekaterih novih, specifičnih za Sredozemlje. Za spremljanje 26 razvojnih dejavnikov, ki ustrezajo različnim razvojnim izzivom sredozemskega območja, je bilo izbranih 55 kazalnikov. Ti stanje opisujejo na različnih prostorskih ravneh: NUTS 0, NUTS 1, NUTS 2, NUTS 3, LAU 1 in LAU 2, v določenih časovnih nizih med leti 1990 in 2010, kjer pa so se zopet pokazale velike razlike med območji evropskega Sredozemlja, tako po obsegu sredozemskega območja kot po ravneh oblikovanja prostorskih enot in spreminjanju le-teh. Kot primer lahko omenimo, da se je v Sloveniji v navedenem obdobju povečalo število občin oziroma so se nekdaj večje občine delile in raziskovalci so se posledično soočili s pomanjkanjem ali neustreznostjo podatkov za opis kazalnikov na ravni občin. Prvi del knjige se zaključuje s pregledom kazalnikom za spremljanje prostorskega razvoja in konkurenčnosti evropskega Sredozemlja, z vrednotenjem vsebinske in metodološke povezanosti kazalnikov ter možnosti njihove uporabe za analizo več razvojnih dejavnikov. Med izbranimi 55 kazalniki so namreč nekateri primerni za spremljanje več razvojnih dejavnikov. Rezultati ekspertnega vrednotenja kazalnikov, povezanosti razvojnih dejavnikov in povezanosti OTREMED kazalnikov so prikazani tabelarično in grafično na straneh med 50 in 60. V drugem delu so najprej predstavljene naravne in družbene značilnosti slovenskega dela Sredozemlja, nato pa je sledilo spremljanje in vrednotenje prostorskega in regionalnega razvoja s pomočjo izbranih kazalnikov in metodologije, ki je rezultat raziskovalnega projekta. Za slovensko Sredozemlje so kazalniki prikazani na dveh ravneh in sicer na ravni NUTS 3, kar ustreza statističnim regijam in LAU 2, kar ustreza občinam. Za NUTS 3 so bili dosegljivi podatki za 27 kazalnikov, za LAU 2 pa za 26, ampak za različna časovna obdobja, zato jih je bilo dejansko možno uporabiti le 14. Prvo skupino kazalnikov predstavljajo kazalniki porabe zemljišč (Corine Land Cover – Eionet Slovenija 2013), drugo pa statistični kazalniki za spremljanje razvojnih dejavnikov. Delež pozidanih zemljišč, spremembe pozidanosti, povprečna letna stopnja pozidave, pozidana zemljišča na prebivalca, delež kmetijskih zemljišč skupaj, spremembe deležev kmetijskih zemljišč, indeks porabe zemljišč na varstvenih območjih ter indeks porabe zemljišč v obalnem pasu so kazalniki porabe zemljišč. Demografske trende kažeta spreminjanje števila prebivalcev in indeks obrata števila potencialno aktivnih prebivalcev, sprememba števila zaposlenih se nanaša na trg dela, delež aktivnih z visoko ali univerzitetno izobrazbo, število raziskovalcev na 1000 zaposlenih, število aktivnih v kmetijstvu na 1000 prebivalcev pa na človeški kapital. Sledijo kazalniki kakovosti življenja oz. družbene izključenosti, intenzivnosti turizma, kulturnega in naravnega kapitala, inovativnosti kmetijstva, zelene ekonomije in spremljanja (monitoringa) ogroženosti prebivalstva: povprečna neto plača na zaposlenega, intenzivnost turizma, število kulturnih delavcev na 1000 zaposlenih, število muzejev in sorodnih ustanov, delež ekoloških kmetijskih zemljišč, delež podjetij z ISO 14000 in podobnimi licencami, delež prebivalcev na ogroženih območjih in delež zavarovanih območij. Pri vseh kazalnikih je pojasnjen postopek izračuna, primerjava na ravni NUTS 3 in kratko pojasnilo dobljenih rezultatov, nato pa še kartografski prikaz vrednosti kazalnika na ravni občin oziroma LAU 2. Slednjih je v opredeljenem slovenskem Sredozemlju 25 in pokrivajo ozemlje Slovenije od Bovca na severozahodu do Pirana na jugozahodu in v »notranjost« vse do Blok in Loške doline. Občine sestavljajo tri regije: Goriško, Notranjsko-kraško in Obalno-kraško, obsegajo 4824 km^2 in 955 naselij. V letu 2011 so imele skupaj 282.637 prebivalcev, kar predstavlja 13,7 % vsega prebivalstva Slovenije. Pri večini kazalnikov se kaže precejšnja raznolikost med občinami in manjša med regijami,



ker pa ne razpolagamo s podatki za ostalo Slovenijo, ne moremo sklepati na skupne značilnosti sredozemskega dela Slovenije kot kohezijske regije. Pri nekaterih kazalnikih pa so prikazane razlike med občinami majhne oziroma je opazna večja enotnost slovenskega Sredozemlja. Vsekakor so dobrodošli kratki komentarji, ki nam pomagajo pri razumevanju prikazanega. Npr. delež pozidanih zemljišč, sprememba pozidanosti, delež kmetijskih zemljišč, prebivalstvene spremembe so v obravnavanem obdobju po občinah precej različne, delež kmetijskih zemljišč pa se je v večini občin zmanjšal in delež aktivnih z visoko ali univerzitetno izobrazbo v večini občin povečal. Podobno so se v primerjanih obdobjih vrednosti določenih kazalnikov opazno spremenile, drugje ni večjih sprememb. Vrednotenje prostorskega in regionalnega razvoja sredozemske Slovenije bi bilo zagotovo zanimivo bolj podrobno spoznati, tendence sprememb in dejavni procesi pa so razvidni že v prikazanem. Dobrodošli bi bili tudi obsežnejši komentarji rezultatov, podkrepljeni s primerjavo z drugimi deli Slovenije, kar pa bi zahtevalo več prostora kot mu je odmerjeno v sklopu predstavitve razvoja orodij oziroma metodologije spremljanja prostorskega in razvojnega načrtovanja na ravni Sredozemlja kot celote. V sklepnem delu so izpostavljeni prostorski in razvojni izzivi. V slovenskem Sredozemlju so prisotni štirje tipi problemskih regij: obalno urbano območje, ki obsega gosto poseljeno in pozidano obalo z zgoščenimi dejavnostmi in potencialnimi okojskimi problemi, urbana območja v zaledju z večjo zgoščenostjo prebivalstva in dejavnosti, podeželje z intenzivnim kmetijstvom v neposrednem zaledju obale, v Vipavski dolini in Goriških brdih ter podeželska območja z razvojnimi težavami, kamor se uvršča večina območij odseljevanja prebivalstva, zmanjševanja pomena kmetijstva in pomanjkanja delovnih mest. Med pomembnejšimi razvojnimi izzivi sredozemske Slovenije so navedeni: prometna lega in prometna infrastruktura, turistične in gostinske dejavnosti, intelektualni potencial in obmejna lega. Napisano dopolnjuje 50 slik in 25 preglednic ter obsežen seznam virov in literature.

Valentina Brečko Grubar

Vesna Leskošek, Milica Antić Gaber, Irena Selišnik, Katja Filipčič, Mojca Urek, Katja Matko, Darja Zaviršek, Mateja Sedmak, Ana Kralj (2013): NASILJE NAD ŽENSKAMI V SLOVENIJI, Založba Aristej, Ljubljana.

Na prvi pogled se zdi, da je tematika nasilja nad ženskami vsaj zadnje desetletje v Sloveniji deležna precejšnje oz. zadostne pozornosti. Varne hiše, materinski domovi, koordinacijske službe za obravnavo nasilja v družinah, ki delujejo na »regijskih« centrih za socialno delo, programi v podporo žrtvam, nekaj raziskav o nasilju, vse našteto kaže, da je nasilje nad ženskami vsaj do določene mere bilo prepoznano kot problematika, ki zahteva sistematične ukrepe na več ravneh. In vendar tako sama vsebina monografije kakor tudi prepogosti najbolj skrajni primeri nasilja v družinah, o katerih beremo v medijih, kažejo, da problematiki še zdaleč nismo kos in da so teme, obravnavane v monografiji Nasilje nad ženskami v Sloveniji, zelo aktualne.

Monografija obsega sedem poglavij in je interdisciplinarno delo devetih avtoric – Vesne Leskošek, Milice Antić Gaber, Irene Selišnik, Katje Filipčič, Mojce Urek, Katje Matko, Darje Zaviršek, Mateje Sedmak in Ane Kralj, ki problematiko nasilja nad ženskami v Sloveniji analizirajo skozi leče socialnega dela, sociologije in prava. Avtorice večinoma izhajajo iz paradigme razumevanja nasilja nad ženskami kot posledice neravnovesja moči med spoloma, ki je rezultat patriarhalnih družbenih vzorcev in opozarjajo na še vedno prepogosto dojemanje nasilja nad ženskami kot problema zasebne sfere in ne kot univerzalnega družbenega problema.

Milica Antić Gaber in Irena Selišnik v poglavju *Zakonodaja o nasilju nad ženskami v Sloveniji* najprej opozorita na pogostost molka o problematiki in orišeta globalni okvir spolnega reda in dominantnosti moških. Sledi opis mednarodnega prava OZN, EU, drugih mednarodnih skupnosti in lokalnih posebnosti ter razvoja smernic in zakonodaje, ki v Sloveniji urejajo problematiko nasilja nad ženskami. Avtorici med drugim prepoznata potrebo po osredotočenosti državne zakonodaje na posebej ranljive skupine žensk (revne, hedikepirane, starejše, imigrantke) in uvajanju ukrepov za preprečevanje sekundarne viktimizacije.

Pravne vidike spopadanja s problematiko nasilja v družini predstavi Katja Filipčič v poglavju *Kazenskopravno odzivanje na nasilje v družini*. Razvoj opredelitve in inkriminiranja nasilja v družini v pravu je ključnega pomena za sankcioniranje storilca in zaščito žrtve. Pomemben kazenskopravni institut spopadanja z nasiljem v družini predstavlja leta 2003 uveden ukrep prepovedi približevanja, ki ponuja možnost začasne zaščite žrtve. Avtorica poudari, da se v zadnjih desetih letih v Sloveniji kazenskopravne obravnave družinskega nasilja pomembno spreminjajo tako na področju obravnavanja storilcev, na področju varovanja žrtev, kakor tudi na področju zavezovanja delovanja javnih institucij v smeri nudenja pomoči žrtvi in medsebojnega sodelovanja javnih institucij.

V tretjem poglavju Mojce Urek z naslovom *Nasilje med partnerji v partnerskih odnosih in v zasebni sferi* je najprej izpostavljena problematika raznovrstnosti metodoloških pristopov raziskovanja pogostosti pojava nasilja nad ženskami, ki onemogoča primerljivost podatkov o prevalenci pojava v različnih državah. Sledijo izsledki nacionalne raziskave o pojavnosti nasilja in odzivnosti na nasilje nad ženskami v Sloveniji, ki je bila izvedena med leti 2008 in 2010. Podatki o pogostosti fizičnega, psihičnega, premoženjskega in spolnega nasilja nad ženskami ter omejevanju gibanja in osebne svobode ter

o tem, koliko žensk, žrtev nasilja, še vedno ne ve, kam poklicati v primeru nasilja, so zgovorni, če ne celo alarmantni. Avtorica predstavi krog nasilja, doživljanje nasilja, trajanje nasilnih odnosov, razloge za vztrajanje v nasilnih odnosih, profil storilcev ter opozori, da ženske v Sloveniji ostajajo v nasilnem odnosu zelo dolgo, žrtve pa v večini primerov o svojih izkušnjah nasilja molčijo in ne poiščejo pomoči.

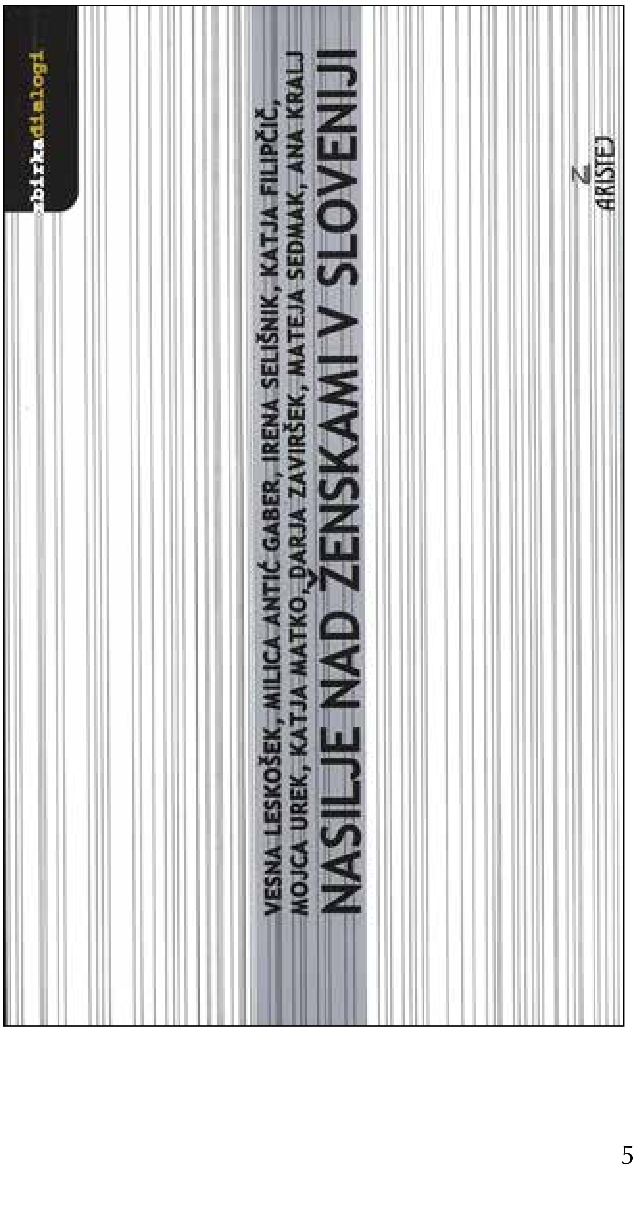
V poglavju *Vpliv nasilja na zdravje žensk* Vesna Leskošek opozori na daljnosežnost posledic doživljanja nasilja in predstavi podatke o fizičnem in duševnem zdravju žensk, ki doživljajo nasilje in posledice doživljanja nasilja. Avtorica izpostavi statistično značilno pomembno razliko v zdravju žensk, ki so doživele nasilje, in tistimi iz splošne populacije. Strah, doživljanje duševnih stisk, sram lahko pa tudi fizične poškodbe so z zdravjem povezane posledice doživljanja nasilja, pri čemer so še posebej dolgotrajne duševne težave, ki vplivajo tudi na finančni položaj žensk, šibkost socialnih omrežij, odnose v službi in druge odnose. Zaradi navedenega Vesna Leskošek razume nasilje nad ženskami kot totalni pojav in tudi kot javnozdravstveni problem, ki bi mu bilo v bodoče potrebno nameniti več pozornosti.

Peto poglavje Katje Matko z naslovom *Nasilje nad ženkami med nosečnostjo* se osredotoči na pri nas močno podraziskano temo. Pričakovanje novega družinskega člana je namreč družbeno močno idealizirano obdobje življenjskega poteka ženske, zato je doživljanje nasilja v času nosečnosti popolna tabu tema, ki jo običajno spremljajo prikrivanje in zanikanje resnice ter sram in občutki nemoči žrtve. Katja Matko bralcu/ki na podlagi izjemno povednih citatov prikaže pretresljive izpovedi žensk, ki so zbrale moč in odšle bodisi v materinski dom ali varno hišo. Izpovedi žensk kažejo tudi, da je problematika doživljanja žensk vsobsegajoča, dolgotrajna in se z umikom v varno okolje šele začne reševati. Intervjuvane ženske z opisom stanja in refleksijo preteklih izkušenj izražajo predvsem skrb, razočaranje, nemoč pa tudi občutke brezizhodnost, ki bralca/ke ne pustijo ravnodušnega/e.

Darja Zaviršek nam v šestem poglavju *Nasilje nad ženskami z gibalnimi, senzornimi in intelektualnimi ovirami: patologizirana resničnost* osvetli še eno podraziskano temo, to je doživljanje nasilja žensk z različnimi ovirami. Tudi v tem poglavju gre za obravnavo pojava nasilja nad eno izmed najbolj ranljivih skupin žensk, ki so pogosto preveč odvisne od storilcev, da bi se jim lahko zoperstavile. Avtorica poudari, da so za reševanje kompleksne situacije v teh primerih še posebej pomembne specializirane varne hiše za ženske z ovirami in nam hkrati sporoča, da nasilje nad ženskami z ovirami ni redko – ne v zasebnem življenju, kakor tudi ne znotraj institucionalnega varstva. Pri tem pa velja, da večja kot je odvisnost ženske z ovirami od druge osebe v finančnem, socialnem in skrbstvenem smislu, večja je verjetnost, da postane objekt nasilja.

Zadnje poglavje Mateje Sedmak in Ane Kralj z naslovom *O čem pričajo spremembe javnega mnenja v odnosu do nasilja nad ženskami* prikazuje, kako udeleženci dveh javnomnenjskih raziskav iz leta 2005 in 2012 razumejo nasilje, kakšna je raven tolerance do nasilja v zasebnosti in kako se oba vidika spreminjata skozi čas. Avtorici predstavita tudi podatke o tem, katere dejavnike nasilja prepoznajo udeleženci javnomnenjskih raziskav, kako pogosto nasilje v družini opredelijo kot zaseben oz. širši družbeni problem in kakšna so stališča v zvezi s pojmovanjem družine, spolnih vlog v njej in tolerance do nasilja. Prikazani podatki žal niso nič kaj spodbudni, saj kažejo na trend upadanja občutljivosti in večanja strpnosti do nasilja nad ženskami, pojmovanja žensk kot tistih, ki so same krive za nasilje in pojmovanje nasilja v družini kot zasebnega problema.

Z orisom zgodovinskega razvoja odnosa do nasilja in problematiziranja nasilja nad ženskami, refleksijo trenutnega stanja v državi in usmerjenim pogledom v prihodnost nam monografija ponuja kompleksen vpogled v problematiko nasilja nad ženskami v Sloveniji. Kar utegne bralec/ka pogrešiti, je ocena stanja s strani nevladnih in vladnih organizacij, ki ponujajo pomoč žrtvam



v praksi. Avtorice pa tenkočutno opozorijo na aktualne trende in sive lise obravnav nasilja nad ženskami in spodbudijo razmislek o problematiki, ki se s slabšanjem socialno-ekonomskega stanja v državi utegne še okrepiti. Prav zaradi slednjega je še toliko bolj pomembno, da se temo obravnava kot resen in pereč družbeni pojav, ki zahteva nenehno prizadevanja za izboljšanje stanja – tako v smislu raziskav, ki bi ponudile kontinuirano in poglobljeno spremljanje pojava, kot v smislu podpore celostnim programom pomoči žrtvam. Ni dovolj, da se lahko umaknejo iz nasilnega razmerja, pomembni so tudi ukrepi, ki omogočajo normalizacijo življenja po prehodu iz institucionaliziranih oblik bivanja in vzpostavitev samostojnega in neodvisnega življenja.

Tjaša Žakelj

KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI:
»Zabijanje žeblja s kladivom v človeške možgane«
http://depositphotos.com/58966001/stock-photo-hammer-drives-nails-into-human.html?sst=120&sqc=166&sqm=300&sq=4owpfb

INDEX TO IMAGES ON THE COVER

FRONT COVER:
»Hammer drives nails into human brain«
http://depositphotos.com/58966001/stock-photo-hammer-drives-nails-into-human.html?sst=120&sqc=166&sqm=300&sq=4owpfb

NAVODILA AVTORJEM

1. Revija ANNALES *(Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije* Ser. hist et soc.) objavlja **izvirne** in **pregledne znanstvene članke** z družboslovnimi in humanističnimi vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na preučevanje *zgodovine, kulture in družbe* Istre in Mediterana. Vključujejo pa tudi *primerjalne in medkulturne študije* ter *metodološke in teoretične* razprave, ki se nanašajo na omenjeno področje.

2. Sprejemamo članke v slovenskem, italijanskem, hrvaškem in angleškem jeziku. Avtorji morajo zagotoviti jezikovno neoporečnost besedil, uredništvo pa ima pravico članke dodatno jezikovno lektorirati.

3. Članki naj obsegajo do 48.000 znakov brez presledkov oz. 2 avtorski poli besedila. Članek je mogoče oddati na e-naslov Annaleszdjp@gmail.com ali na elektronskem nosilcu (CD) po pošti na naslov uredništva.

Avtor ob oddaji članka zagotavlja, da članek še ni bil objavljen in se obvezuje, da ga ne bo objavil drugje.

4. Naslovna stran članka naj vsebuje naslov in podnaslov članka, ime in priimek avtorja, avtorjeve nazive in akademske naslove, ime in naslov inštitucije, kjer je zaposlen, oz. domači naslov vključno s poštno številko in naslovom elektronske pošte. Razen začetnic in kratic pisati z malimi črkami.

5. Članek mora vsebovati **povzetek** in **izvleček.** Izvleček je krajši (max. 100 besed) od povzetka (cca. 200 besed).

V *izvlečku* na kratko opišemo namen, metode dela in rezultate. Izvleček naj ne vsebuje komentarjev in priporočil.

Povzetek vsebuje opis namena in metod dela ter povzame analizo oziroma interpretacijo rezultatov. V povzetku ne sme biti ničesar, česar glavno besedilo ne vsebuje.

6. Avtorji naj pod izvleček članka pripišejo ustrezne **ključne besede**. Potrebni so tudi **angleški (ali slovenski) in italijanski prevodi** izvlečka, povzetka, ključnih besed, podnapisov k slikovnemu in tabelarnemu gradivu.

7. Zaželeno je tudi (originalno) **slikovno gradivo**, ki ga avtor posreduje v ločenih datotekah (jpeg, tiff) z najmanj 300 dpi resolucije pri želeni velikosti. Največja velikost slikovnega gradiva je 17x20 cm. Vsa potrebna dovoljenja za objavo slikovnega gradiva (v skladu z Zakonom o avtorski in sorodnih pravicah) priskrbi avtor sam in jih predloži uredništvu pred objavo članka. Vse slike, tabele in grafične prikaze je potrebno tudi podnasloviti in zaporedno oštevilčiti.

8. Vsebinske *opombe*, ki besedilo še podrobneje razlagajo ali pojasnjujejo, postavimo *pod črto*.

Bibliografske opombe, s čimer mislimo na citat – torej sklicevanje na točno določeni del besedila iz neke druge publikacije, sestavljajo naslednji podatki: *avtor*, *leto izida* in – če citiramo točno določeni del besedila – tudi navedba *strani*. Bibliografske opombe vključimo v glavno besedilo.

Celotni bibliografski podatki citiranih in uporabljenih virov so navedeni v poglavju *Viri in literatura* (najprej navedemo vse vire, nato literaturo). Pri tem avtor navede izključno dela ter izdaje, ki jih je v članku citiral.

Primer citata med besedilom:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

Primer navajanja vira kot celote:

(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu" ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 20, 2, 423–444.

Če citiramo *več del istega avtorja iz istega leta*, poleg priimka in kratice imena napišemo še črke po abecednem vrstnem redu, tako da se viri med seboj razlikujejo. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a) in (Kalc, 2010b).

Bibliografska opomba je lahko tudi del vsebinske opombe in jo zapisujemo na enak način.

Posamezna dela ali navedbe virov v isti opombi ločimo s podpičjem. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a, 15; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Pri **citiranju arhivskih virov** *med oklepaji* navajamo kratico arhiva, kratico arhivskega fonda / signaturo, številko tehnične enote in številko arhivske enote. Primer:

(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

V primeru, da arhivska enota ni znana, se dokument citira po naslovu *v opombi pod črto*, in sicer z navedbo kratice arhiva, kratice arhivskega fonda / signature, številke tehnične enote in naslova dokumenta. Primer:

ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.

Kratice razložimo v poglavju o virih na koncu članka, kjer arhivske vire navajamo po abecednem vrstnem redu.

Primer:

ARS-1589 – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

10. Pri citiranju časopisnih virov med tekstom navedemo ime časopisa, datum izdaje ter strani:

(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

V primeru, da je znan tudi naslov članka, celotno bibliografsko opombo navedemo *pod črto*:

Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

V seznam virov in literature izpišemo ime časopisa / revije, kraj, založnika in periodo izhajanja.

Primer:

Primorske novice. Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

11. Poglavje o virih in literaturi je obvezno. Bibliografske podatke navajamo takole:

- Opis zaključene publikacije kot celote – knjige:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov. Kraj, Založba. Npr.:

Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M. & L. Tavčar (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

V zgornjem primeru, kjer je *avtorjev več kot dva*, je korekten tudi citat:

(Šelih et al., 2007).

Če navajamo določeni del iz zaključene publikacije, zgornjemu opisu dodamo še številke strani, od koder smo navedbo prevzeli.

- Opis prispevka v **zaključeni publikaciji** – npr. prispevka v zborniku:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov prispevka. V: Avtor knjige: Naslov knjige. Kraj, Založba, strani od-do. Primer:

Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M. & E. Ženko (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji:**

Avtor, (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka strani od-do. Primer:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:

Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- Opis **vira iz internetnih spletnih strani**:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran.

Članki so razvrščeni po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, v primeru da gre za več citatov istega-istih avtorjev.

12. Kratice v besedilu moramo razrešiti v oklepaju, ko se prvič pojavijo. Članku lahko dodamo tudi seznam uporabljenih kratic.

13. Pri **ocenah publikacij** navedemo v naslovu prispevka avtorja publikacije, naslov, kraj, založbo, leto izida in število strani (oziroma ustrezen opis iz točke 10).

14. Prvi odtis člankov uredništvo pošlje avtorjem v **korekturo.** Avtorji so dolžni popravljeno gradivo vrniti v enem tednu.

Širjenje obsega besedila ob korekturah ni dovoljeno. Druge korekture opravi uredništvo.

15. Za dodatna pojasnila v zvezi z objavo člankov je uredništvo na voljo.

UREDNIŠTVO

ISTRUZIONI PER GLI AUTORI

1. La rivista ANNALES (Annali per gli studi istriani e mediterranei, Ser. hist. et soc.) pubblica **articoli scientifici originali e rassegne** dai contenuti sociologici e umanistici relativi allo studio della *storia, cultura e società* dell'Istria e del Mediterraneo. Include inoltre *studi comparativi e interculturali* nonché saggi *metodologici e teorici* pertinenti a questa area geografica.

2. La Redazione accetta articoli in lingua slovena, italiana, croata e inglese. Gli autori devono garantire l'ineccepibilità linguistica dei testi, la Redazione si riserva il diritto di una revisione linguistica.

3. Gli articoli devono essere di lunghezza non superiore alle 48.000 battute senza spazi, ovvero 2 fogli d'autore. Possono venir recapitati all'indirizzo di posta elettronica Annaleszdjp@gmail.com oppure su supporto elettronico (CD) per posta ordinaria all'indirizzo della Redazione.

L'autore garantirà l'originalità dell'articolo e si impegnerà a non pubblicarlo altrove.

4. Ogni articolo deve essere corredato da: titolo, eventuale sottotitolo, nome e cognome dell'autore, denominazione ed indirizzo dell'ente di appartenenza o, in alternativa, l'indirizzo di casa, nonché l'eventuale indirizzo di posta elettronica. Tranne sigle e acronimi scrivere in minuscolo.

5. I contributi devono essere corredati da un **riassunto** e da una **sintesi**. Quest'ultima sarà più breve (max. 100 parole) del riassunto (cca 200 parole).

Nella *sintesi* si descriveranno brevemente i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche e anche i motivi che le hanno determinate. La sintesi non conterrà commenti e segnalazioni.

Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

6. Gli autori sono tenuti ad indicare le **parole chiave** adeguate. Sono necessarie anche le **traduzioni in inglese (o sloveno) e italiano** della sintesi, del riassunto, delle parole chiave, delle didascalie, delle fotografie e delle tabelle.

7. L'eventuale **materiale iconografico** (originale) va preparato in formato elettronico (jpeg, tiff) e consegnato in file separati alla definizione di 300 dpi a grandezza desiderata, purché non ecceda i 17x20 cm. Prima della pubblicazione, l'autore provvederà a fornire alla Redazione tutte le autorizzazioni richieste per la riproduzione del materiale iconografico (in virtù della Legge sui diritti d'autore). Tutte le immagini, tabelle e grafici dovranno essere accompagnati da didascalie e numerati in successione.

8. Le **note a piè di pagina** sono destinate essenzialmente a fini esplicativi e di contenuto.

I **riferimenti bibliografici** richiamano un'altra pubblicazione (articolo). La nota bibliografica, riportata nel testo, deve contenere i seguenti dati: *cognome dell'autore*, *anno di pubblicazione* e, se citiamo un determinato brano del testo, anche le *pagine*.

I riferimenti bibliografici completi delle fonti vanno quindi inseriti nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia (saranno prima indicate le fonti e poi la bibliografia). L'autore indicherà esclusivamente i lavori e le edizioni citati nell'articolo.

Esempio di citazione nel testo:

(Borean, 2010, 325).

Esempio di riferimento alla fonte, senza citazione:

(Borean, 2010).

I dati completi su questa fonte nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia verranno riportati in questa maniera:

Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol. 20, 2, 323–330.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a pié di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Borean, 2010a, 37; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione »Fonti« a fine testo. Ad es.:

ASMI-SLV – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

10. Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a piè di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Tra i monumenti di Isola : guida storico-artistica del patrimonio artistico di Isola. Koper, Edizioni Annales.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(**Darovec et al., 2010**)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volume miscellaneo:**

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Povolo, C. (2014): La giusta vendetta. Il furore di un giovane gentiluomo. In: Povolo, C. & A. Fornasin (eds.): Per Furio. Studi in onore di Furio Bianco. Forum, Udine, 179-195.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista:**

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Cergna, S. (2013): Fluidita' di discorso e fluidita' di potere: casi d'internamento nell'ospedale psichiatrico di Pola d'Istria tra il 1938 e il 1950. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 23, 2, 475-486.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). Http://www. trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso.

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

13. Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

14. Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedite entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

15. La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

1. The journal ANNALES *(Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies,* Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean,* as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract,** with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

8. Footnotes providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:

(Blaće, 2014, 240).

E.g.: Reference in a text:

(Blaće, 2014).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Blaće, A. (2014): Eastern Adriatic Forts in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's Isolario Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Citta ... Annales, Ser hist. sociol., 24, 2, 239-252.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:

(Blaće, 2014a) and (Blaće, 2014b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:

(Kalc, 2010a, 15; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

E.g.:

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article**.** Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:

Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher. E.g.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Among the monuments of Izola : art history guide to the cultural heritage of Izola. Koper, Annales Press.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Darovec et al., 2010)

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. In: Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:

Muir, E. (2013): The Anthropology of Venice. In: Dursteler, E. (ed.): A Companion to Venetian History. Leiden - Boston, Brill, 487-511.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication:**

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:

Faričić, J. & L. Mirošević (2014): Artificial Peninsulas and Pseudo-Islands of Croatia. Annales, Ser hist. et sociol., 24, 2, 113-128.

- Description of an **oral source**:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/ victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should *be explained* when they first appear in the *text. You can also add a list of their explanations at the end of the article.*

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).

14. The authors are sent the **first page proofs**. They should be returned to the editorial board within a week.

It is not allowed to lengthen the text during proof-reading. Second proof-reading is done by the editorial board.

15. For additional information regarding article publication contact the editorial board.

EDITORIAL BOARD